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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

**OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH**

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ORIGINS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH PRESS FROM COLONIAL DAYS TO 1840

By Clifford P. Morehouse, M.A.

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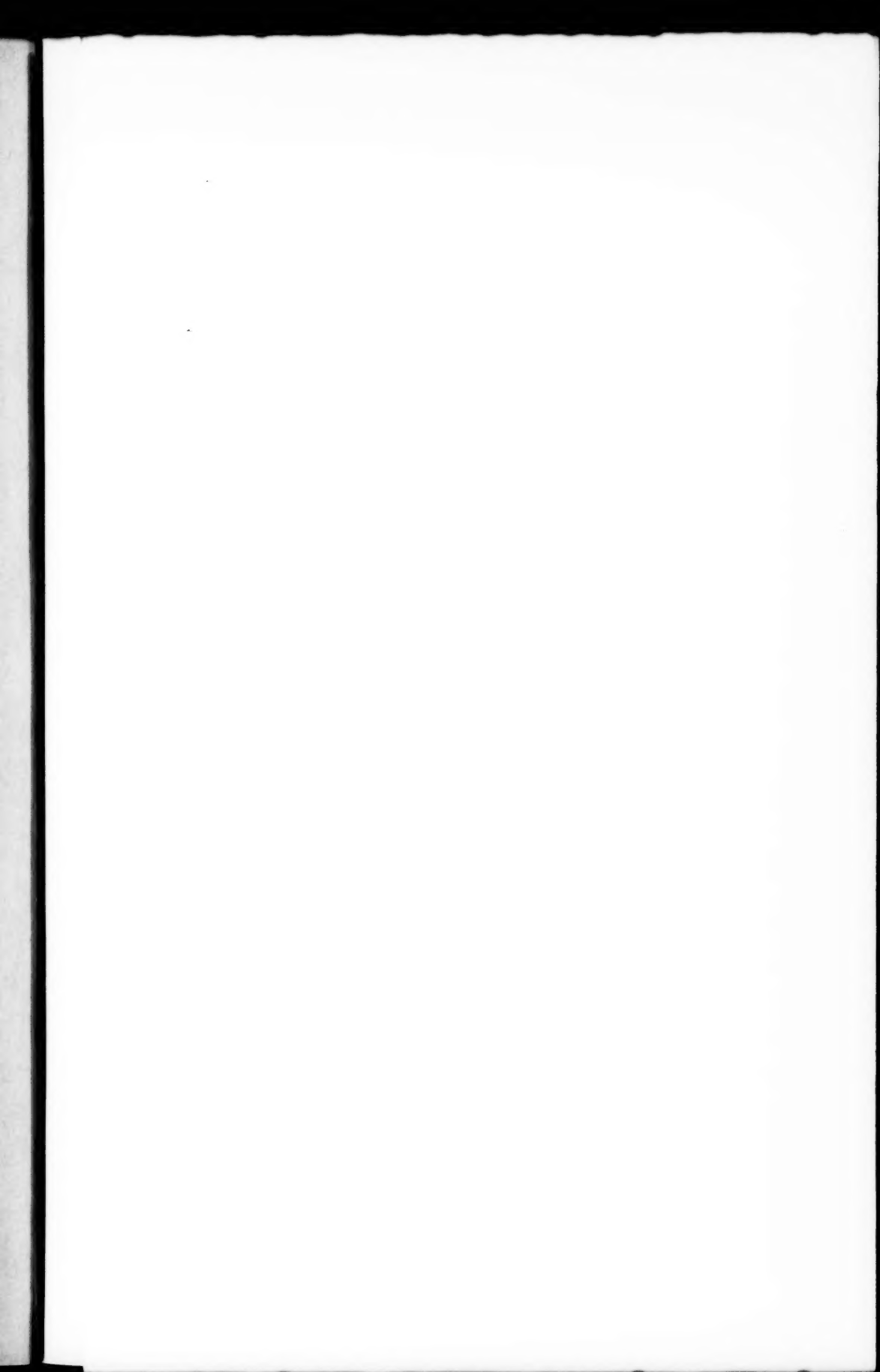
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ORIGINS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH PRESS FROM COLONIAL DAYS TO 1840

By Clifford P. Morehouse, M. A.

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ORIGINS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH PRESS FROM COLONIAL DAYS TO 1840

By Clifford P. Morehouse, M.A.

FOREWORD

THE object of this study is to show the origins of the religious press in the Episcopal Church and to indicate why some publications were permanently successful and others were not. For this purpose the study begins with the earliest periodicals and continues to the year 1840, at which time there were twelve periodicals of general circulation in the American Episcopal Church, three of which have continued to 1942.

The study does not by any means present the complete story of religious journalism in the Episcopal Church. If it indicates the origins of Episcopal Church journalism and the roots from which it has grown it will have served its purpose. In that hope the writer sends it forth with a prayer that it may lead others, more competent than himself, to continue the study and to present at some future date the complete story of religious journalism in the Episcopal Church.

I am greatly indebted to the late Professor Maynard W. Brown of Marquette University for encouraging me to undertake this study and carry it to a conclusion, as a thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in that university. I am also indebted to Dean Jeremiah L. O'Sullivan and the other members of the Marquette Journalism faculty, and to the librarian of that university.

A considerable part of this study was made in the library of the General Theological Seminary in New York, which has the most complete file of the early periodicals of the Episcopal Church in existence. I am deeply indebted to the Very Rev. Hughell E. W. Fosbroke, dean of the Seminary, for his courtesy in permitting me to be the guest of the Seminary while I was pursuing these studies. I am also greatly obliged to the Rev. Dr. Burton Scott Easton, librarian of the General Theological Seminary Library, for placing the full facilities of that library at my disposal on several occasions. I also wish to thank the librarian of Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wisconsin, the Rev. Dr. Frank H. Hal-

lock, for permitting me to use the facilities of that library, and for assisting me in obtaining some of the materials for this study.

My thanks are further due to the Rev. Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, official historiographer of the Episcopal Church and editor of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for permitting me access to his file of clippings relating to journalism in the Episcopal Church and for permission to quote from his unpublished manuscript, *Men and Movements in the Episcopal Church*; also for valuable criticism of the manuscript. The Rev. Dr. Walter H. Stowe, president of the Church Historical Society, deserves a special word of appreciation, both for use of his unpublished manuscript, *A Great Decade, 1830-1840*, and for exceptionally valuable and constructive criticism. The Rev. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon, historiographer of the diocese of Virginia, has also given me valuable information, particularly in relation to the *Layman's Magazine* of Martinsburg, Virginia, and I wish to express my appreciation to him.

Finally, I wish to express my very greatest appreciation of the assistance of my secretary, Marie Pfeifer, who has put in many hours of labor on this manuscript, and whose assistance in putting it in presentable shape has been invaluable.

CLIFFORD P. MOREHOUSE.

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF EPISCOPAL JOURNALISM

1. THE COLONIAL CHURCH

ANGLICANISM came to America with the earliest English explorers and settlers. In Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, there stands today a granite cross commemorating the first service from the English Prayer Book held on this continent. The date of that service was June 21, 1579, and the clergyman who conducted it was the Rev. Francis Fletcher, chaplain on Sir Francis Drake's ship "Pelican," later re-named "The Golden Hinde."¹

But the first permanent work of the Anglican Church on continental North America was in Virginia, where the Church was at work 13 years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. The Rev. Robert Hunt, an Anglican clergyman, was among the first group of colonists who settled at Jamestown in 1607, and on June 21st he celebrated the first Holy Eucharist upon the soil of Virginia. Shortly thereafter the colonists began the erection of a church as one of their first buildings.²

Although it was only in a few of the Southern colonies that the Church of England attained the status of an established Church, it became active in all of the thirteen colonies prior to the Revolution. It was, however, hampered throughout the colonial period by the fact that it had no bishops in America. Consequently, it was relatively weak in its organization and entirely dependent upon England for its continuance. Candidates for holy orders in the colonies had to make the long and perilous journey to England for ordination and many of them died on the journey over or before they could return. In the absence of bishops there were no confirmations on this side of the Atlantic for more than 150 years of the Church's history.

During the American Revolutionary War the members of the Episcopal Church were divided in their allegiance. Many of the clergy felt that the oath of allegiance to the Crown that they had been required to take at least prevented them from taking an active part on the Revolutionary side and some of them sincerely sympathized with the

¹Wilson, Rt. Rev. F. E., *An Outline History of the Episcopal Church*. Morehouse, Milwaukee, 1932, p. 1.

²Manross, Rev. Wm. W., *A History of the American Episcopal Church*. Morehouse, Milwaukee, 1935, p. 7.

English cause. Nevertheless, it is a fact that much of the leadership of the infant American republic came out of the colonial Church. Bishop Wilson enumerates a few of the Churchmen who became great leaders in the cause:³

"Washington himself was a Churchman. So also were Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, Marshall, Jay, Livingston, the Pinckneys, Morris, 'Mad Anthony' Wayne, Patrick Henry, and many others. The historian Fiske has often been quoted to the effect that five of these men (Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, and Marshall) were the ones who really made the nation—and all of them were Churchmen except, perhaps, Jefferson, whose religious ideas were rather vague. The Rev. Jacob Duché offered the prayer at the opening of the first Continental Congress and the Rev. William White was its chaplain in its darkest days. Croes and Smith, who later became bishops, served in the ranks of the Continental army. Muhlenberg, a priest, became a Brigadier-General. Bass, Parker, and Provoost, all of whom later were bishops, were outspoken supporters of the Revolutionary cause. Fifteen out of twenty clergy in South Carolina were staunch patriots and the proportion varied in other sections."

Following the Revolution the Episcopal Church was reorganized and a series of general conventions were held. On November 14, 1784, the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., was consecrated bishop by the Scottish nonjuring bishops at Aberdeen and returned to this country as the first bishop in the United States.⁴ Shortly thereafter William White, Samuel Provoost, and James Madison were consecrated bishops in England. Thereafter the organization of the American Episcopal Church was complete, its governing body consisting of a General Convention with two houses—the House of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.⁵

But the period immediately after the Revolution, which was also the period of the first beginnings of religious journalism in the Episcopal Church, were dark days for Episcopalians. As Bishop Wilson observes:⁶

"The Church suffered from the reflected querulousness of secular politics. During the presidencies of Washington, Adams

³Wilson, *An Outline History of the Episcopal Church*, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

⁴Wilson, *An Outline History of the Episcopal Church*, op. cit., p. 30: "The first Roman Catholic bishop of Maryland was not consecrated until 1790." Vide *Catholic Encyclopedia*, article Carroll, pp. 379-381.

⁵Wilson, Rt. Rev. F. E., *The Divine Commission. The National Council*, N. Y., 1927, p. 268. For a detailed study of the Church's organization, see "Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church," Volume VIII (1939), pp. 177-303.

⁶*Ibid.*, 268-269.

and Jefferson, political partisanship was acrid to the point of personal abuse. Everybody was critical of everything. Moreover, a wave of irreligion was sweeping to its high tide. Tom Paine was getting a wide reading; and, however much good he may have done for the Revolutionary cause, he certainly counter-balanced it with a corruption of the spiritual life of the public. Popular debates were held on such subjects as 'whether there was any such thing as God' and 'whether Christianity had been beneficial or injurious to mankind.' The Church itself was distrusted. Anti-British feeling had never quite subsided after the Revolutionary War; and, in the early years of the nineteenth century, it was greatly aggravated by the events leading up to the War of 1812. The Episcopal Church suffered because of its British derivation. In some of the southern States, notably Virginia, the spoliation of the colonial Church had been carried to shocking extremes. Neither was it merely a case of misunderstanding. The Church itself showed a distressing lack of aggressiveness. As Dr. Tiffany puts it, 'The Church's course for a long period was marked with all the obstinacy of a weak mind and a strong constitution.' A devoted Churchman of such keen perspicacity as Chief Justice Marshall frankly said that he saw no possible future for it."

These conditions continued until about 1811. In that year the consecration of John Henry Hobart as assistant bishop of New York and Alexander Viets Griswold as bishop of the Eastern Diocese, followed by Bishops Theodore Dehon for South Carolina (1812), Richard Channing Moore for Virginia (1814) and Philander Chase for Ohio (1819), resulted in a new spiritual strength in the Episcopal Church and prepared the way for the next great forward movement in 1835, when the Church definitely accepted its full missionary and evangelistic responsibility. The early Church press had much to do with these developments.

2. THE CHURCH PRESS IN ENGLAND

At the time of the American Revolution there was no religious press in the colonies. This does not mean, however, that religious matters were not discussed in the periodicals of the day. On the contrary, religious discussions were to be found in publications of every kind, and were the main stock in trade of most publications. The story of Benjamin Franklin's encounters with the religious leaders of Boston in his day, for example, is a typical instance of the influence of Church leaders on the colonial and early American press.⁷

⁷Thurber, S. (editor), *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, N. Y. Allyn & Bacon. Also Fay, D., Book I, *The Rearing of an XVIIIth Century Radical in Franklin, The Apostle of Modern Times*, N. Y., Little Brown & Co.

But for actual Church periodicals, Americans had to turn to the mother country, and Anglican Churchmen naturally turned to the press of the Church of England; though even in England they did not find much in the way of a Church press at the close of the 18th century and the opening of the 19th.

The *British Critic* was probably the leading publication of the Church of England at the turn of the century. Begun in 1793, three years after the demise of the similar *Critical Review*, of which Smollett was sometime editor, it early attracted to its columns some of the ablest Anglican writers. (Later Newman was to become its leading writer.) The organ of the High Church party, it was staunchly Tory in its politics, and while it seems to have been read by many of the clergy of the Episcopal Church (for it is frequently mentioned in their diaries and memoirs), it must often have irritated them. This publication continued until 1843.

Another publication, primarily political, but giving a considerable amount of space to religious matters, was the *Anti-Jacobin Review* (1799-1821), sponsored by the "Society for the Reformation of Principles."

However, England itself was deficient in adequate religious periodicals at this time, even the clergy being more interested in politics and other mundane matters—so much that as late as 1824 Bishop Hobart of New York, visiting England, complained that the best educated among the English clergy were well versed in other branches of learning, but ignorant of theology.⁸

Among general English magazines circulated in America must be mentioned the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1781 to 1868), which has been called "The first English magazine of modern type." While this publication contained a wide variety of literary, political, and business information, it did not entirely neglect religion. Yet the Rev. H. H. Norris of Hackney observed:⁹

"The country clergy are constant readers of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, deep in the antiquities of the signs of inns, speculations as to what becomes of swallows in winter, and whether hedge-hogs, or other urchins, are most justly accused of sucking cows dry at night."

The *Christian Observer* was probably the most widely read of the English Church periodicals in America. Indeed in 1802 it began to be regularly reprinted in Boston, and thereafter for many years it

⁸Carpenter, S. C., *Church and People, 1789-1889*. S. P. C. K., London, 1933.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 69.

had a considerable circulation in New England, New York, and other parts of this country. No attempts were made to adapt this publication to American conditions, and it paid little attention to American affairs, except when they were of a bizarre nature. In the issue of October, 1802, for example, there is an account of early Methodist revivals in Kentucky, with emphasis on the phenomenon of "falling down."

The *Christian Observer* was a literary as well as a religious journal. In one of its earliest issues¹⁰ it contained an excellent essay on "The Origin, Advantages, Disadvantages, and Importance of Literary Journals." These it traced from their origin in France about 1665 to its own day, quoting with approval the statement of Dr. Johnson in 1757: "A literary journal was for a long time among the deficiencies of English literature; but we have now, amongst other disturbers of human quiet, a numerous body of reviewers." One wonders how American subscribers to this journal enjoyed reading its naive explanation of the loss of the American colonies:¹¹

"Our commerce has increased in proportion as our manufacturers have been brought to perfection, and our wealth in proportion to both, so that we are enabled to give a length of credit to strangers that was hitherto unknown in the annals of commerce. This unexampled wealth enabled England to establish, protect, and raise to importance that large portion of America, now the United States, which a variety of causes, but chiefly the envy of other nations, incited to throw off its dependence on this country, when our enemies said we were ruined, and waited for our fall; but to their surprise and disappointment, the British Islands have prospered more than ever."

In common with other periodicals of its day, the *Christian Observer* gave a considerable amount of space to curious physical and scientific phenomena as, for example, an anatomical description of a male rhinoceros, an account of an elephant tusk in which the iron head of a spear was found imbedded, an essay on the production of artificial cold by means of muriate of lime, and so on. In an early issue there is given an account of a monstrous lamb, as follows: "This monster, which was not yeaned alive, was deficient in all parts of the head below the ears."¹²

Only occasionally did the *Christian Observer* give any considerable amount of space to American affairs. There are, however, some interesting articles, as for example, the following:¹³

¹⁰*Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 34, Jan., 1802.*

¹¹*Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan., 1802.*

¹²*These examples taken from the issue for February, 1802.*

¹³*Christian Observer, August, 1802, p. 536.*

"Last winter a great body of Indians presented themselves to Congress, at Washington, under the command of one of their warriors, name Little Pigeon. The President and government caused ploughs and other implements of agriculture and various arts to be given to them. The President at the same time told their chief, that the Great Spirit had given to the enlightened whites a present, which contained the means of destroying the small-pox, which had lately occasioned a great mortality among their tribes. Such was the confidence of the Indians in their more civilized neighbours, that all the warriors immediately caused themselves to be inoculated, and they carried with them vaccine matter for their countrymen. Soon after, fifteen other chiefs came to be inoculated with the vaccine: this operation was performed both times by the Chaplain of Congress."

Publication of the *Christian Observer* continued until 1874, during all of which time it had a considerable following in America as well as in England. On the title page for the 1820 volume, for example, the name of Thomas B. Wait, Boston, is given as the American publisher, and Howe and Spaulding, New Haven, Connecticut, as the principal agents. Other agents are listed at Salem, Newburyport, Plymouth, Northampton, Springfield, New Bedford in Massachusetts; Portland and Gardiner in Maine; Portsmouth, Amherst, and Hanover, in New Hampshire; Middlebury, Vergennes, and Windsor, Vermont; Hartford in Connecticut; New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, and Burlington, in New Jersey; Baltimore in Maryland; Shepherdstown in Virginia, and Detroit in Michigan.

CHAPTER II

EARLIEST PERIODICALS

1. THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE

IN the 18th and early 19th century, journalists were frequently recruited from the ranks of the clergy, and combined in their own persons the first and fourth estates. This is not strange, as the clergy was almost the only educated class in colonial days, and this tradition persisted even after the Revolution. Moreover the early periodicals were largely of a polemic nature, and it is only fair to observe that the theological training of the 18th century was couched rather largely in terms of polemics.

It is therefore not surprising to note that the first clergyman of the Episcopal Church to be recorded as a journalist was the editor of a general periodical, rather than strictly a religious one. This man was the Rev. William Smith, D. D., and the periodical was the *American Magazine* (1757-1758).

Dr. Smith, a native of Scotland, came to America in 1751 as a tutor to the two children of one Colonel Martin, and for two years he lived at the Colonel's home on Long Island, continuing to tutor the children.¹ During this time Dr. Smith wrote *A General Idea of the College of Mirania*, a pamphlet intended as a sketch for a proposed college in New York. He sent copies to the Rev. Richard Peters of Philadelphia and to Dr. Benjamin Franklin, who was then president of the board of trustees of the Philadelphia College, Academy, and Charitable School. There began a correspondence which resulted, a few years later, in the appointment of Dr. Smith as provost of the college and academy.

Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia, Dr. Smith became acquainted with Col. William Bradford, editor and publisher of the *Pennsylvania Journal*. Col. Bradford's grandfather had been the first printer in the middle colonies (1684),² and his uncle, Andrew Bradford, had issued

¹This sketch of Dr. Smith's life is based on *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D. D.*, by his great-grandson, Horace W. Smith. Philadelphia, 1880.

²This earlier William Bradford, a devoted Churchman, had published the *American Almanac*, the first Anglican almanac in the colonies. See *Historical Magazine*, December, 1941, p. 331.

the first magazine published in America. Bradford and Smith were both ardent patriots, opposed to the pacifism of the Friends, and had other interests in common.

When, therefore, Bradford decided to begin the publication of the *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle*, he turned to Dr. Smith to act as its editor. True, the title page said that the magazine was edited "by a society of gentlemen," but it was well known that Dr. Smith was the real editor.

The *American Magazine* embraced in its scope literature, science, history, politics, moral essays, and current news. Dr. Smith was an able and energetic editor and during the brief lifetime of the *American Magazine*—from November, 1757, to October, 1758—it was, in the words of Dr. F. L. Mott, "bold and outspoken, and sincerely devoted to liberty and the orderly development of an American civilization."³

Dr. Smith's principal literary contribution to the *American Magazine* was the series known as the "Hermit Papers." These were eight essays on religious subjects which appeared over the pseudonym of "The Hermit," and of which a capable observer wrote:

"They exhibit a warmth of feeling and a taste for letters ready to ripen into the pursuits of the scholar and the divine."

But Dr. Smith did not confine himself to religious subjects; he wrote also an article on the "State of the Province of Pennsylvania," "Earnest Address to the Colonies," and many patriotic and political essays and editorials. He was vigorous in promoting the main purpose of the periodical—to support the British cause against France, and the interests of the Penns, proprietors of the colony, against both Franklin and the Quakers. He was, said Dr. Coppee, "a man of science, literature, patriotism, and Christian devotion—a right excellent literary Churchman."⁴

The *American Magazine* makes an octavo volume of twelve numbers and a supplement. It came to an end when Dr. Smith was arrested and imprisoned for "abetting and promoting" a libel in the case of William Moore. Although this case did not directly arise through his editorship of the *American Magazine*, it seems to have grown out of his vigorous editorial policy against the Friends, and his refusal to retract statements made that he believed to be correct. While he was

³Mott, Frank L., *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850*, p. 81. New York, G. Appleton & Co., 1930.

⁴Quoted by Henry Coppee, in a monograph in Bishop Perry's *History of the American Episcopal Church, Vol. II.* Boston, 1885, p. 609.

in jail, Dr. Smith's students came to him for instruction. On his release he went to England, and thereafter his life led him into fields other than journalism.⁵

2. THE CHURCHMAN'S MAGAZINE

The first regular periodical of the Episcopal Church was the *Churchman's Monthly Magazine*, or *Treasury of Divine and Useful Knowledge* (1804-1827).⁶ It was conceived originally as a private enterprise by a group of Churchmen in Connecticut, including Ashbel Baldwin, Richard Mansfield, Daniel Burhans, William Smith,⁷ and Menzies Rayner, with the approbation and hearty endorsement of the bishop of Connecticut, the Rt. Rev. Abraham Jarvis,⁸ but was soon made an official diocesan publication.⁹ Beginning with the issue of January, 1804, this periodical pursued its aim—"to furnish brief historical accounts, comments, and explanation of [the Church's] feasts and fasts, her Sacraments, Liturgy, and Offices, to give a right understanding of the economy of redemption and the instituted means of salvation, and also to procure, publish, and preserve records of the origin and progress of the individual congregations in the Diocese." In the prospectus contained in the first issue, the editors added:

"That the object may be the more completely embraced, the whole will be calculated to guard against the plausible but dangerous reasonings of infidels and latitudinarians—reasonings the more dangerous, because plausible, for the laying of all religions upon a level; and whose pretended liberality toward religion in every form, arises from a real coldness towards it in any, and from their wishes to bring the thing itself into contempt and insignificance.

"We have a very encouraging and noble example set us, in that country from whence we emanated, and by members of that Church which gave origin to ours, and under whose fostering care it was for many years nurtured. The writings of those

⁵He became president of Washington College and was elected bishop of Maryland, but was never consecrated to that office.

⁶Beardsley, Rev. E. Edwards, *A History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. II. (See Index.)

⁷This William Smith was the nephew of the one who had been editor of the *American Magazine*. William B. Sprague, "Annals of the American Pulpit," has biographies of the following: Baldwin: V, 352; Mansfield: V, 131-134; Burhans: V, 410-414; Smith: V, 345-349. For Rayner, see E. E. Beardsley, "History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut," Vol. II (index references). Rayner became a Universalist and was deposed, 1828.

⁸Archives of General Convention, edited by Arthur Lowndes, Vol. III, pp. 420-421.

⁹Beardsley, in *A History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, says (p. 27) that it was begun "under the editorship of a committee appointed by the Convocation of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut."

learned and virtuous men brought over to us, exhibit the most pleasing proofs of their vigilance and ever to be admired abilities in detecting the falsehoods and repelling the subtle efforts of the enemies of their religion and peace."

The *Churchman's Monthly Magazine* (the word "Monthly" was dropped after two years) was octavo in size, and the first few numbers consisted of sixteen pages. The subscription price was \$1.50 a year.

The original plan of the *Churchman's Magazine* was for a revolving editorship, participated in by several of the Connecticut clergy, Dr. William Smith,¹⁰ one of the original board of editors, described the plan in a letter to the Rev. John Henry Hobart, then assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, under date of May 20, 1804:¹¹

"As to our Magazine, it is the child of a holy-parent, its compositions must be dissimilar, and little able to endure the eye of severe criticism. I suppose you know the manner of the publication. The Diocese is divided into four parts, New-haven, Cheshire, Waterbury, Stratford; each of these edits the Magazine three months in succession."

Continuing, Dr. Smith asks Dr. Hobart for "the life of Dr. Chandler" for the next number, thus enlisting the services of the man under whose editorship the *Churchman's Magazine* was later to become the first periodical for the whole Episcopal Church.

The plan of a revolving editorship did not work at all well, and in addition friction developed between the editors and the printers, who apparently took matters into their own hands at last, and demanded that a single capable editor be found. In another letter to Hobart, dated October 25, 1805, William Smith tells in some detail the troubles of the magazine:¹²

"At Newhaven yesterday we had a meeting concerning the *Churchman's Magazine*; I find the business very much thrown out of the jurisdiction of the Church into the hands of the printers. The printers are authorized to *procure* an Editor that shall be *agreeable* to the Committee. Hitherto the

¹⁰This William Smith, nephew of Dr. William Smith of Philadelphia, was a prominent Connecticut clergyman, rector of St. Paul's Church, Norwalk. He was the preacher at the consecration of Dr. Jarvis as bishop of Connecticut, one of the few instances in the American Episcopal Church when a priest preached the sermon at the consecration of a bishop. (*Archives of General Convention*, Vol. III, p. 47.) He was also the compiler of the Office of Institution in the Prayer Book. For his biography, see Wm. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, V, pp. 345-349.

¹¹*Archives of General Convention*, Vol. III, p. 415.

¹²Dix, Morgan. *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*. Part III, p. 97, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

Convocation appointed the Editor; but now the printers may appoint such an editor as *they* would not choose, at the same time many things may unite to make *their* negative on the appointment a matter of extreme delicacy. As to the idea of the Editor's being resident in N. H. I only say, I wish it is not too chimerical ever to be realized. The Gentlemen who were at Convocation say or seemed to say, it was your and the N. Y. Clergy's proposition as a *sine qua non* on the scheme of uniting the two States in a common concern in the Magazine. I should esteem it a favour to be informed by yourself, Sir: whether this really be the agreed-upon *vinculum*."

Light is thrown on the salaries of editors by the following:

"Some months since, being in N. H. Mr. Walter [one of the printing concerns] asked me for what sum I would sit down in N. H., and give my undivided attention to editing the magazine. Without considering that my answer might be perverted to imply a renunciation of all future view of being Editor, which I find has been the case, I replied—'One thousand dollars per annum.' So that virtually I find myself excluded from this business contrary to my views and expectations, having spent a great proportion of the little income arising from the editorship in purchasing books proper for the business."¹³

Continuing, he reviews the history of the rotating editorship:

"Perhaps you know not that at the commencement of this business, the Editorship was divided among the Clergy of the Diocese of Con' divided into four districts, of which N. H. published the first three numbers—the next three fell to Cheshire—the next three to Stratford—here Mr. Baldwin utterly refused to take it up, and in fine I was persuaded to continue it, and henceforward with very little aid it has come from my superintendence. At the time the present printing Company ousted Mr. Griswold, it sustained no small shock. By the force of superior persuasion what you have seen of Dr. Johnson's life has been published—I never meant to publish but extracts, & December shall close the whole with a warm recommendation of the work. If there are any views of publishing a Magazine in N. Y.: I shall be pleased to know what terms will be offered to an Editor, on the spot, and whether it would merit my attention. I have for some time contemplated publishing a Magazine of my own in N. Y. which perhaps could comprehend all the subjects of the proposed N. Y. one;—if so, I would be obliged to you, to open a correspondence with me upon the subject. My Family at present are too much separated for our mutual comfort—Any how, please to write to me as soon as possible upon the aforesaid question. I pray God to preserve

¹³Dix, Morgan. *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York. Part III, p. 97, New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.*

your health and bless your labours: & Our best wishes to you and Mrs. Hobart."

Beginning in 1806 there was but a single editor.¹⁴ The constant change of printers was an additional difficulty met by the sponsors of the Magazine.¹⁵ But the *Churchman's Magazine* continued on its way, and gradually gained more support and prominence in the Church in which it continued for years to have no journalistic rival—unless the Boston edition of the (English) *Christian Observer* could be so considered.

By the beginning of Volume V, in January, 1808, the *Churchman's Magazine* had become firmly established and had an extensive circulation, not only in Connecticut, where it was published, but in many other states and even in Canada. The cover of the first issue in this volume lists 30 subscription agents in as many Connecticut towns, 17 in New York state,¹⁶ 4 in New Jersey, 2 in Massachusetts, 2 in Rhode Island, 2 in Vermont, 5 in Maryland, 2 in South Carolina, and 3 in British North America. In addition an agent was listed in far-away New Orleans—the Rev. Philander Chase, later to be the first bishop of Illinois.

An interesting commentary on the unstable currency situation of the day is the notice of the publishers, O. Steele & Co., of New Haven:¹⁷

"As applications are frequently made to us, to receive Eastern Bills in payment for the Magazine, we deem it expedient to give this public notice, that in consequence of the generally weakened confidence, as respects that species of currency, among all who have claims against us, we can no longer accept it in discharge of our claims upon others."

It is difficult to trace the beginnings and early development of advertising in the Church press, because most of the early advertisements were on the covers, and these have been removed in the bound volumes that have come to the present day.

¹⁴The issues of the Magazine do not indicate who he was, but Beardsley, *op. cit.*, p. 47, says that late in 1805 Dr. Tillotson Bronson, formerly of Waterbury, "removed to New Haven, to conduct the *Churchman's Magazine*. He was the editor of that useful periodical . . . and except during the interval of its publication out of the Diocese he continued to add to his other labors the responsibility of arranging the matter and superintending the press." Cf. *Churchman's Magazine*, April, 1804, p. i.

¹⁵"In the first four years, at New Haven, there were three different printers; then the magazine went to New York, then to Elizabethtown, N. J., then it came back to Connecticut—first to Hartford and then to Middletown."—Brewer, Rev. Clifton H., *A History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church to 1835*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1924, p. 129.

¹⁶Including Messrs. T. & J. Swords in New York City, who were later to become its publishers.

¹⁷*Churchman's Magazine*. Vol. V, No. 1, January, 1808.

The first advertisement that I have been able to find is a full page one on the inside back cover of the *Churchman's Magazine* of January, 1808.¹⁸ This consists of a list of religious books, mostly Anglican, for sale by Bronson, Walter & Co., whose store was on State street, in New Haven, just under the printing office of the *Churchman's Magazine*.

After this publication was transferred to Messrs. T. & J. Swords of New York, in April, 1808, those enterprising gentlemen regularly used the second, third, and fourth cover pages for announcements of the numerous Episcopal Church publications issued by them.

The name of the Rev. Dr. John Henry Hobart appeared in the February, 1808, issue of the *Churchman's Magazine*, wherein was printed a lengthy extract from his *Apology for Apostolic Order*. Two months later this publication was issued from New York instead of New Haven, with Dr. Hobart as proprietor and editor, and Messrs. T. & J. Swords, 160 Pearl street, as publishers.¹⁹ Dr. Hobart had been (anonymously) an associate editor since the beginning of that year, and probably also financially interested in it;²⁰ but with this issue he assumed full responsibility for the *Churchman's Magazine*.

Thus began one of the most notable editorial careers in the history of the Episcopal Church. Despite his pressing duties as successively assistant and rector of Trinity Church, then as now one of the foremost parishes of the Church, and later as bishop of New York, Dr. Hobart gave a considerable part of his time to editorial work, and his became by far the ablest editorial pen in the Episcopal Church, and one of the foremost in all the religious press of his day.

Of this remarkable Churchman Bishop Coleman of Delaware wrote:²¹

"It is natural in connection with Bishop White to give some account of Bishop Hobart. While in some respects they were quite dissimilar, there existed between them great intimacy and affection, and by the very contrast in their characters they were enabled the more to benefit that Church to which they were so

¹⁸There is an unbound copy in the New York Public Library, but the front cover has been torn off and the back one is tattered and worn. There are also several copies of early issues, a few of them with covers, in the Yale library to which they were given by Dr. E. C. Chorley.

¹⁹Dr. Brewer says (op. cit., p. 130): "Just as all was going well on this basis a rival magazine threatened to appear in New York City, under the direction of John Henry Hobart. The *Churchman's Magazine* feared that two similar periodicals could not well exist so near each other and, after some negotiations, discreetly put itself into Hobart's hands and removed to New York. By this expedient it kept its standing among Episcopalians as 'The only periodical publication devoted to the interests of their venerable and apostolic church.'"

²⁰Cf. *Archives of General Convention*, Vol. III, p. 420.

²¹Coleman, L., *The Church in America*. N. Y., 1895, pp. 230-232.

ardently attached. John Henry Hobart was born in Philadelphia in the year 1775, and died in Auburn, New York, September, 12, 1830. The permanent influence which he exerted would seem to belong to a man of more years, but the circumstances of the times in which he lived, as well as his strong characteristics, compelled him to be a controversialist. He had a ready pen, and was among the bravest of men. While he encountered not a little bitter and unjust opposition, yet he had no warmer friends than some of those who differed from his ecclesiastical views. The Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, a distinguished Calvinistic divine, was perhaps his most determined foe, and this was his testimony: 'Were I compelled to entrust the safety of my country to any one man, that man should be John Henry Hobart.' At his ordination to the priesthood (in 1800) he was appointed an assistant minister of Trinity Church New York, of which parish he subsequently became a rector. While serving in this capacity, he was elected assistant bishop of the diocese (1811), and upon Bishop Moore's death (1816) he succeeded to the bishopric. He laboured incessantly in the discharge of the manifold duties pertaining to the care of a large territory and of rapidly multiplying churches. He was an effective preacher, and diligent in writing and editing volumes of a theological description, some of which (especially his *Festivals and Fasts*) reached a number of editions. His *Apology for Apostolic Order* still remains a valued textbook. He was very active in promoting the establishment of the General Theological Seminary, and various organizations for Church work. His reputation as a learned, loyal, and intrepid Churchman grew year by year, until his advice was sought on every hand. In the various gatherings of the clergy and laity which he attended, he became almost essential, so that it was hardly any exaggeration to speak of him, as the Rev. Dr. Lyell of New York did, as 'one who in the councils of the Church, if he were present it seemed that all were present there, and who if he were missing no one could fill his place.' His episcopate has been termed an epoch or turning-point in the history of the American Church. Unquestionably, it was very fruitful of substantial growth; and his name must ever have a high place among our ecclesiastical heroes. His well-known motto was 'Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order.'"

Dr. Hobart's first action was to change the *Churchman's Magazine* from a 40-page monthly to an 80-page bi-monthly, with the quaint explanation: "This arrangement, it is thought, will prove on many accounts more convenient and eligible than the former."

The annual subscription price of the *Churchman's Magazine* was \$1.50, with a commission of 12-1/2 per cent to agents. To this the enterprising Dr. Hobart added a commission of 10 per cent to the diocesan convention of the state in which the subscriber lived. In this

way he wisely built up Church loyalty and at the same time he allayed any suspicions diocesan authorities might have of a "foreign" church periodical—for despite the adoption of a constitution for the Church in all the states, there was still a wide measure of autonomy and rivalry between dioceses, as between the states themselves. "By this plan," wrote the new editor, "persons who subscribe for the magazine, and its patrons who exert themselves to procure subscribers, will not only fulfill the important duty of contributing to the diffusion of religious knowledge, but will secure an annual revenue to the conventions of the Churches respectively, which may be appropriated by them to pious purposes." This plan, he added, would preclude him from "all prospect of any pecuniary remuneration." Accordingly:

"He trusts that the friends of evangelical truth will not be backward in exertions to promote the circulation of a miscellany which shall be devoted to the defence and illustrate the principles of that religion, which is not less essential to the prosperity of civil society, than to the present and future felicity of man. The friends of the Protestant Episcopal Church will recollect that the *Churchman's Magazine* is the only periodical publication devoted to the interests of their venerable and apostolic church; while, among other religious denominations, various periodical miscellanies are supported with a liberal zeal, worthy of imitation. The price of the Magazine is much less than that of any similar publication, and is fixed so low that there must be few who will not have it in their power to patronize the work."

Dr. Hobart was very anxious to demonstrate and strengthen the unity of the Church which had so recently been organized independently of the mother Church of England. Accordingly in the issue of May and June, 1808, he published in full a history of the Protestant Episcopal Church written by Bishop White for the forthcoming American edition of *Rees' Cyclopaedia*. This is an exceptionally full first-hand account of the struggles of the Church in America to obtain from the mother country bishops independent of any political control—a concept of the episcopate as a catholic order in the universal Church that was at a low ebb in the 16th century Church of England.

In the same issue, Dr. Hobart outlined his editorial plans. He would, he said, "endeavour to discharge the sacred duty of exposing error and vindicating the truth in that spirit and manner, which, if they do not remove prejudices, shall never increase or confirm them, by rudely wounding the feelings, or by invading the rights of character and conscience." This declaration was a notable expression of conviction tempered by tolerance—an attribute only too often lacking in

editors of his day, both religious and secular. Moreover, Dr. Hobart actually lived up to his ideal, to a remarkable degree, even in the heated controversies in which he was not infrequently engaged.

"The *Churchman's Magazine*," he promised, "shall be devoted to the illustration and defence of the great truths of the Gospel: it shall endeavour to cherish an enlightened and warm attachment to the primitive institutions of the Protestant Episcopal Church; to excite those who belong to this venerable Church to an earnest zeal for her interests; and, above all, to 'adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour,' by that holy life and conversation, not less necessary to the honour and prosperity of the Church, than to their own personal dignity and peace."

Doubtless one of the reasons that led Hobart into the field of religious journalism was the desire to have a strong publication in which a reply could be made to attacks on the Christian religion in general and the Episcopal Church in particular. His stalwart defence of the faith and of the Church had already led him into a number of controversies, notably one with the formidable Dr. John M. Mason, a leading Presbyterian divine and editor of the *Christian's Magazine*.²² Dr. Hobart came into personal contact with Dr. Mason frequently, for both were members of the board of trustees of Columbia College. This board was nearly equally balanced between Episcopal and opposing members, being composed of some of the ablest and most influential men of their day. Among them in 1801 at the time of Dr. Hobart's election were Alexander Hamilton, Brockholst Livingston, Richard Harrison, and Morgan Lewis; and subsequently there were added Rufus King, Gouverneur Morris, Egbert Benson, Nicholas Fish, DeWitt Clinton, Oliver Wolcott, and Robert Troup.²³ The Episcopal Church had a special claim to influence in the board, as the former King's College was Anglican in its origin, but there was strong opposition to the Church led by Dr. Mason. The biographer of Bishop Hobart describes this formidable antagonist of the youthful clergyman and editor as follows:²⁴

²²The *Christian's Magazine* was a very controversial monthly begun in New York in 1806 under militant Evangelical Protestant auspices. Its editor was the Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, of the Associate Reformed Church of Scotland, a powerful writer and speaker, and an influential leader in religious and educational circles. Its very first article was in defense of religious controversy and its particular bete noir was episcopacy. It early began its attack on Dr. Hobart, particularly because of his two books, *A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A.* The *Christian's Magazine* continued until 1811 and constantly opposed everything connected with the Episcopal Church.

²³McVickar, John, *Professional Years of Hobart*, N. Y. 1936, p. 121.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

"Powerful with his pen, he was still more powerful in speech, for a commanding figure and a stentorian voice, such as he possessed, are never without their influence in debate; while, at the same time, his truly great powers, both of argument and sarcasm, seemed to justify in him that disdainful self-confidence of tone and manner with which he was apt to put to silence opponents of whom he stood not in awe, and among the Episcopalians, at that time in the Board, whatever may have been their ability, there certainly was no one individual who felt willing or perhaps called upon to meet him in debate; so that he may be said to have ruled alone.

"Under these circumstances, the introduction among the Trustees of a young Episcopal clergyman, a youth in years, and a stripling in personal appearance, without name, connections, or experience, was very far from being thought, even by those who introduced him, to furnish Churchmen with a fit match for a leader so redoubted as Dr. Mason, or to arouse in that leader any fear of losing the ascendancy he had so long enjoyed. Such, too, was the popular opinion without; but wiser men from the first saw deeper."

Shortly after his controversy with Dr. Mason, Dr. Hobart entered into a controversy with the editor of the *Monthly Anthology*, Boston, who had attacked episcopacy. As the *Monthly Anthology* refused to publish Dr. Hobart's reply he inserted it in his own publication, the *Churchman's Magazine*, shortly after he became the editor of it in the fall of 1808. Before the controversy with the *Monthly Anthology* was concluded, the *Christian's Magazine* had again taken up the cudgels against Dr. Hobart, who replied in his *Churchman's Magazine*, with the assurance to his readers that "it is with reluctance we note the *Christian's Magazine* in our pages." This reply of Dr. Hobart's contains one sentence so devastating that we cannot refrain from quoting it. After stating his case he says:

"Now, let the reader pause—let him peruse the extract from the *Christian Magazine*—let him peruse the above statement—let him make the case his own; and we need not supply him with epithets by which to express his sense of the conduct of the Editor of the *Christian Magazine*."

Dr. Hobart continued his editorship of the *Churchman's Magazine* until 1811. In May of that year he was elected assistant bishop of New York, and the burdens of this office made it impossible for him to continue his editorial work. He therefore transferred the publication to his friend, the Rev. John C. Rudd, rector of St. John's Church, Elizabethtown, N. J., in the hope that he would continue it "on its

original principles."²⁵ But after the publication of the issue for December, 1811, the printing office in which the *Churchman's Magazine* was printed was destroyed by fire, with all its contents, and for the time being the *Magazine* went out of existence. No issues appeared during the war year of 1812.

The next stage of the *Churchman's Magazine* began with the issue of January-February, 1813, with the Rev. Mr. Rudd as editor. This bore the notation "New Series—Volume I number 1." The magazine was to contain "seventy or eighty" octavo pages, and was priced as before at \$1.50 a year.

Mr. Rudd maintained the *Churchman's Magazine* at a high standard, though perhaps it was not quite as interesting and timely as in Bishop Hobart's regime. Curiously enough, though publication was begun in the midst of a war with England, no notice whatever seems to have been taken of that fact. But the wide scope of the *Magazine's* interest in religious affairs is shown by the fact that during 1813 items under "Religious Intelligence" deal with the spread of Christianity in such diverse places as China (Tartary), India, Africa, New South Wales and Spanish America. The last-named deals with the laying of the corner-stone of an Anglican Church at Belize, Honduras, on June 20, 1812—"the first Protestant church ever erected in Spanish America."²⁶ In this country, news items were reported from Massachusetts to South Carolina, the conventions of the various dioceses being reported with especial thoroughness. Thus the issues for these years, when the Church in this country was beginning to find itself and to grow from diocesanism to a larger corporate consciousness, are of particular historical value.

But the *Churchman's Magazine* no longer had the Episcopal Church field to itself. In the same month in which it resumed publication at Elizabethtown, only a few miles away in Burlington, N. J., the *Quarterly Theological Magazine* was begun. The title page describes this rather ponderous publication as "conducted principally by members of the Protestant Episcopal Church," and the name of Samuel Allinson is given as publisher and proprietor. On the title page of volume III the Rev. Drs. Charles H. Wharton, rector of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, N. J., and James Abercrombie, senior assistant of Christ, St. Peter's, and St. James' Churches, Philadelphia, are given as editors. The office

²⁵See Bishop Hobart's letter on this subject, quoted in McVicker's *Professional Years of Hobart*. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-243.

²⁶*Churchman's Magazine*, July-August, 1813, p. 298. Belize, now the capital of British Honduras, is today the see city of the bishopric of British Honduras and Central America, whose present occupant is also archbishop of the West Indies.

of publication had also been moved to Philadelphia, with Moses Thomas as publisher and J. Maxwell, printer.

The *Quarterly Theological Magazine* issued four numbers a year, approximately 250 pages each, the subscription price being \$5.00 a year. While some space was given to news, the magazine was primarily concerned with theological articles, biographies, sermons, essays, and reviews. The last issue extant is that of April, 1814, and apparently the publication was discontinued at that time, partly because foreign journals could not be obtained from Europe owing to the war, and partly—probably mostly—on account of lack of support.

The *Churchman's Magazine* continued, however, until the summer of 1815, when it was quietly discontinued. The reason for its sudden demise is obscure. Certainly the editor expected to continue it, for a note in the last issue requests the bishops to send him notices of their official acts, explains a confusion in numbering the issues, and concludes: "The next number, for July and August, will be published about the middle of September."²⁷

But the *Churchman's Magazine* was destined to another revival, this time again in Connecticut, where it had had its origin. This was in January, 1821, when a new volume was begun with the Rt. Rev. Thomas Church Brownell, bishop of Connecticut, as editor, "with the assistance of some of the clergy." Publication was undertaken as a result of a resolution of the diocesan convention, and the magazine began with an apology: "The editors, being severally engaged in extensive and laborious professional duties, will probably find but little leisure to bestow on this work."²⁸ As before, this method proved unworkable. At first there were some interesting original contributions, such as an account of the consecration of the first American bishop, Samuel Seabury, a critical review of Bishop White's *Memoirs of the Church*, and so on. But gradually the magazine came to consist mostly of reprints from foreign journals, supplemented by reports of official Church bodies and sermons. It was suffered to expire a third time in 1823—again unexpectedly, for the last number advised that it was to be continued by the Rev. G. B. Noble.

But it did not actually appear again until 1825, when Dr. Tillotson Bronson (who had once before been editor), president of the Episcopal Academy, Cheshire, Connecticut, revived it with a 32-page issue dated April, 1825, and described as "volume IV, number 1." In a prefatory

²⁷Commenting on this discontinuance, a later editor observed (in the issue of April, 1825): "The reasons of its relinquishment have been fully explained." Still later (December, 1826, p. 262) this was attributed to "some embarrassment on the part of the person upon whom the pecuniary responsibility depended."

²⁸*Churchman's Magazine*, January, 1821, p. 1.

note, Dr. Bronson recited the history of the magazine, pointing out its pioneer character and laying its previous failures to the fact that "divided responsibility usually shrinks below each one's share." It was now being revived "at some pecuniary expense, and risk of more, should the patronage fall materially short of what is calculated."

Under Dr. Bronson the *Churchman's Magazine* enjoyed a measure of success and esteem, though the editor did not obtain the cooperation for which he had hoped. "Documents could not be obtained for Biographical sketches of eminent and worthy persons," he complained in April, 1826, "or anecdotes of the foundation and history of the Church in different places, as was believed might be collected."

Yet on the whole Dr. Bronson's editorship was second only to Dr. Hobart's and had he lived longer he might have established the *Churchman's Magazine* on a firm permanent foundation. Unhappily he died on September 6, 1826, being engaged in writing a reply to a reader's inquiry when stricken with his last brief illness. Dr. Bronson was the sole proprietor of the paper at the time, but some of his fellow-clergymen carried the volume to completion with the issue of March, 1827, "with a sole view of benefitting the family of a much beloved friend." The circulation of the magazine at the time of Dr. Bronson's death was "more than a thousand subscribers."²⁹

In the last issue of the *Churchman's Magazine* there was given a full prospectus of a weekly paper, the *Episcopal Watchman*, to be published "in the cities of Hartford, Middletown, New-Haven, and Boston," to which readers of the expiring publication were urged to subscribe.

So ended the first regular periodical of the Episcopal Church, after a varied career covering 23 years—albeit with lapses totalling about eight years. Its death in 1827 was the final one, and brought to a close the pioneer era in the journalism of the Episcopal Church.³⁰

²⁹December, 1826, p. 262. This issue contains an excellent account of Dr. Bronson's life and work. See also William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. V, pp. 358-363, for a good biography of Bronson, of whose editorial work it is said: "His labors in this field were highly appreciated, and the volumes which he edited are still regarded as creditable alike to his talents and his learning."

³⁰There was another publication entitled the *Churchman's Monthly Magazine* begun in 1854. But it was quite different from the earlier *Churchman's Magazine* and claimed no kinship with it. Moreover the lapse of a quarter of a century is too long to consider the later publication in any sense a revival of the earlier.

3. THE CHRISTIAN REGISTER AND MORAL AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

We have seen that when Dr. Hobart was elevated to the episcopate he felt that he could no longer continue the burden of editing the *Churchman's Magazine*, and so transferred it to the Rev. John C. Rudd. This left New York without a Church paper, and indeed the suspension of the magazine in 1816 threatened to leave the Episcopal Church without any periodical of general circulation.

Bishop Hobart was a firm believer in the power and value of a Church press. It was probably through his initiative, therefore, that the *Christian Register and Moral and Theological Review* was inaugurated with an issue dated July, 1816. The publishers were those loyal Churchmen and energetic business men, Thomas and James Swords, who had been publishers of the *Churchman's Magazine* during Hobart's editorship. The editor was an intimate friend of Bishop Hobart—the Rev. Thomas Yardley How, assistant rector of Trinity Church.

How was an interesting character.³¹ While a student at the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) he had formed a close friendship with Hobart. Admitted to the bar, he had a career as a successful lawyer until a religious controversy in the columns of the *Albany Centinel*, in which he staunchly defended the Church, caused his friends to urge him to take holy orders. This he did, being ordained in 1808, and becoming an assistant minister at Trinity while still a deacon. He has been described by an able historian³² as "an accomplished scholar, a sound divine, and a clear and forcible reasoner." Such was the man who for its short but useful lifetime of less than two years ably conducted the *Christian Register*.

The *Christian Register* was a semi-annual publication, each issue consisting of some 250 pages octavo. The price was \$1.25 an issue, or \$2.50 a volume. There were only three issues in all, but they are significant to the historian because their bulk permitted the publication of long documents, such as proceedings of diocesan conventions, reports of Bible societies, etc. "Foreign and Domestic Intelligence" filled the bulk of the issues, and taken as a whole gave a fairly full picture of the state of the Church in 1816 and 1817—a period in which it was just beginning to waken from the weakness and apathy of the years immediately following the Revolution. Other sections dealt with biography (only a few sketches of little significance), religious com-

³¹See the sketch of his life in *Archives of General Convention*, Vol. V, p. 435; cf. *McVickar's Professional Years of Hobart*.

³²*Dr. Berrian in a Historical Sketch*, p. 226, quoted in *Archives of General Convention*.

munications (theological, "select" and "original"), reviews (many, varied, and long), poetry (ponderous and anonymous), and "anecdotes of pious characters." The "anecdotes" of early 19th century publications, it should be noted, were by no means what the term signifies to the modern reader; they were pious incidents told in an intensely moralistic manner as example for emulation. They were great favorites, in the secular as well as the religious press.

The *Christian Register* came to an abrupt end, and evidently an unforeseen one, for the last issue, that of July, 1817, closes with the promise that a full list of the clergy of the Episcopal Church "from their first settlement to the present time" would be published in the next issue. Unfortunately the brilliant and promising How, to the surprise and dismay of his many friends, became involved in a moral scandal so grave that Bishop Hobart was regretfully compelled to suspend him in 1817 and subsequently to depose him from the priesthood of the Church. With his fall, the *Christian Register* came to an end.

4. THE CHRISTIAN JOURNAL

But the Church was not left this time without a periodical in New York. Even before the *Christian Register* was discontinued, the *Christian Journal and Literary Register* was begun, its first issue being dated January 22, 1817. The publishers were again Messrs. T. & J. Swords, and the prospectus in the first issue announced that it was "to appear in numbers, one number every two weeks, at \$1.00 a year."³³ Issued "under the inspection of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hobart," the purpose of the new periodical was stated as follows:

"It shall be devoted to theological and miscellaneous subjects, and particularly to interesting religious and literary intelligence, and biographical and obituary notices. Besides occasional original matter, it shall contain selections from the various British periodical works, literary and religious. Arrangements have been made with agents in England, to transmit these works regularly to us as they issue from the press. The readers of the *Christian Journal* will thus be furnished, in the speediest mode, with valuable and interesting selections from the latest British periodical publications.

"While it shall be the object of the *Journal* to record important religious events in general, particular regard will be paid to those which relate to the Protestant Episcopal Church

"It shall thus be the object of the *Christian Journal* to present a summary of the interesting opinions, elucidations, and

³³*Christian Journal and Literary Register*, January 22, 1817.

reasonings on theological subjects, which are contained in the publications of the present day; and it shall be occasionally enriched with the sentiments of those masters of theology who were the glory of the days that are past, and whose writings exhibit the soundest views of Christian doctrine and order, and the highest fervours of pious feeling . . .

"It shall be published in a large octavo size, and regularly paged; and at the close of a volume a neat title page will be given.

"Two numbers will be published in a month. The work being issued solely from an earnest desire to promote the interests of religion, with the view to its general circulation, it will be furnished at the low rate of one dollar a year, payable in advance."

The first issue contained sixteen pages, two columns to a page, and its contents were as follows:

Prospectus

The Character of Luther, with Remarks on the Principles of the Reformation (abridged from *British Review*.) 9 cols.

- The Pastor's Visit to the Cottage. From a late Publication of the Rev. J. Cunningham, author of "The Velvet Cushion." 2-1/2 cols.

The Episcopal Church in Scotland. From the *British Critic*. Introductory Paragraph showing relation of Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. to same. 4 cols.

Lines written by the poet Mason, at the age of 72. Sonnet.

Man's Demerit. ". . . from the forcible pen of the judicious Hooker." 1-1/2 cols.

The Liturgy. From a late Charge of the Bishop of Gloucester. 1/2 col.

Review of *Bertram, or the Castle of St. Aldebrand*, a tragedy in 5 acts. By the Rev. R. C. Maturin. From the *British Review*. 4 1/2 cols. This was described as being "in the taste of Lord Byron,"—a taste of which the reviewer evidently vigorously disapproved, for he added: "We venture to advise the reverend dramatist, for the sake of the holy and immortal interests connected with his profession, to withdraw himself from all connexion with Lord Byron's tainted muse and to the greatest distance he possibly can from the circle within which the demons of sen-

timental profligacy exert their pernicious incantations.
 . . . Rotten principles and a bastard sort of sentiment,
 such, in short, as have been imported into this country
 from German moralists and poets, form the interest of
 this stormy and extravagant composition."

Anecdote of Viscount Barrington (brief).

Silliman's and Simond's Travels. From the *Quarterly Review*.
 Story of a man, one Silliman, who "visited Europe with
 the pleasant and honourable commission to purchase
 philosophical and chemical apparatus, and books for Yale
 College, in Connecticut." He finds "that the English Uni-
 versities have been greatly misrepresented in America
 . . . His own (American) colleges are more respectable
 than he had imagined, although in many things certainly
 inferior."

Church at Canadaigua, Ontario County, N. Y. 3 cols. and
 wood engraving.

The P. E. Missionary Society of Young Men. Account of its
 organization at Trinity Church, New York City, Jan. 21,
 1817. 1 col. plus.

The Society in England for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
 Report of year's work (£44,215-9-7, year's receipts.)

New Family Bible. An advertisement of T. & J. Swords.

Notes on new books. 1 col. plus.

The *Christian Journal* continued to the end of 1830. The last few
 issues were devoted to memorabilia of Bishop Hobart, who died Sep-
 tember 12, 1830. The *Christian Journal* did not long survive the death
 of its sponsor. In its valedictory in December, 1830, it said that its
 discontinuance was "not to be ascribed to weariness of toil," but to
 the fact that "it cannot be expected that a work of this kind can be
 sustained without the aid of adequate funds, and it is altogether from
 the want of this aid that the *Christian Journal* now ceases to exist."

The *Christian Journal* set a high standard of excellence for its day.

CHAPTER III

OTHER EARLY PERIODICALS

1800-1820

THE first two decades of the 19th century saw the rise and fall of a considerable number of periodicals of the Episcopal Church in various parts of this country.¹

As Dr. Manross has observed:²

"The early nineteenth century was an era of cheap printing such as must excite the envy of everyone with an itching pen, and this fact, combined with the high postage rates, which restricted most of the periodicals to a sectional circulation, led to a great multiplication of journals of all sorts, religious or otherwise."

1. WASHINGTON THEOLOGICAL REPERTORY (1819-1828)

This was a monthly publication begun in August, 1819, devoted to disseminating "principles of religion and piety." Any profits were to go to the Education Society, to aid young men studying for the ministry, and to the American Colonization Society, which was organized to colonize freed Negro slaves in America. The *Washington Theological Repertory* was established and for many years published by the Rev. William H. Wilmer of Alexandria.

Dr. Wilmer was by long odds the leading Churchman in Virginia until his death in 1827.³ In a letter to Benjamin Allen he mentions that he is agent for the sale of the *Christian Observer*, the *Christian Journal* and the *Christian Register*, and the *Christian Observer* is mentioned frequently in his letters to Thomas G. Allen.⁴

¹One of these, the *Layman's Magazine* (1815-1816) of Martinsburg, Virginia, is of such unique character, despite its short life, that it is given a special section at the beginning of the next chapter. As to the rest they were generally of transient value, and so may be very briefly summarized here.

²Op. cit., *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, pp. 243-244. For the postage rates on newspapers and magazines, 1792-1845, see the appendix at the end of this chapter.

³Information from the Rev. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon, historiographer of the diocese of Virginia. See also Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia*; Brewer, *A History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church*, etc.

⁴A copy of this correspondence, which is unpublished, is in the possession of Dr. Brydon, to whom the author is indebted for this information.

The *Washington Theological Repertory* was a monthly periodical, 32 pages octavo, and the subscription price was \$2.00 a year.⁵ Dr. Wilmer was assisted in the editorship by the Rev. Messrs. William Hawley, Oliver Norris, and Reuel Keith, and others. Beginning with Vol. 5,⁶ the principal editor was the Rev. William Hawley and the title was expanded to the formidable one, the *Washington Theological Repertory and Churchman's Guide*. The last issue of this periodical was that of December, 1830, but a final valedictory address was published in the *Philadelphia Recorder*,⁷ which succeeded the *Repertory*.

2. THE WATCHMAN

Exceptionally short lived was a periodical published at New Haven, Connecticut, in 1819, under the title, *The Watchman*. Of this Dr. Brewer says:⁸

"A frankly militant publication appeared in March, 1819, at New Haven, with the significant name, *The Watchman*. Pamphlets hostile to the Episcopal Church had been issued, this little magazine complained, and it was the *Watchman's* intention to 'turn these weapons of assault back' upon the adversaries. In the first (and probably the only) issue, the *Watchman* carried out this aggressive purpose under the titles 'A gross Deception Exposed,' 'Presbyterian Ordination Doubtful,' and 'New England Congregational Ordinations.' The paper was to be published 'in occasional numbers . . . as occasion may require.' Ten issues would constitute a volume. Communications were to be addressed to John Babcock and [name torn off].⁹ No trace of any issue after the first has appeared, and it seems likely that, since there were further 'occasions' for such controversies as the *Watchman* entered, the little publication ceased because of lack of patronage, or perhaps because in some way its backers became convinced that no real good could result from such open and systematic controversy."

3. QUARTERLY THEOLOGICAL MAGAZINE

I have already referred briefly¹⁰ to this periodical which had a short life and probably a very small circulation. Published originally

⁵*Washington Theological Repertory*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 1-2.

⁶August, 1823.

⁷*Philadelphia Recorder*, March 5, 1831, p. 194.

⁸The author has been unable to consult a copy of the single issue of this periodical that is extant and consequently has quoted this description of it from Brewer, *History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church*, p. 277.

⁹*The Watchman*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 1. The issue was 24 pp., 12mo. It cost eight cents. (Dr. Brewer's reference.)

¹⁰See above, Chapter II, p. 220. For biographies of Wharton and Abercrombie, see Wm. B. Sprague, "Annals of the American Pulpit," pp. 335-342, 392-399.

in New Jersey it soon removed to Philadelphia, but its life apparently extended only from January to October of 1813. Its principal editors were the Rev. Charles H. Wharton of Burlington and the Rev. James Abercrombie of Philadelphia.

While published under auspices of the Episcopal Church, the *Quarterly Theological Magazine* was intended to subserve . . . "the interests of our common Christianity," and the editors hoped that it would prove acceptable to religious readers of every denomination. In their prospectus¹¹ they expressed a desire to "discard the sectarian spirit so long at variance with that spirit of unity, and that bond of peace, which ought to constitute the distinguishing marks of all Christian societies." To this end they took as their motto the quotation from Bishop Horne: "The devotions among Christians, about lesser matters, prove the truth of those great and fundamental points in which they agree." Probably the failure of this publication was due in part to the fact that it was ahead of its time in this respect.

The last issue of this periodical was that for October, 1813. In this issue the editors informed the patrons "that its publication will be suspended for a few months" stating that this interruption is necessary because of "the difficulty of obtaining theological publications and intelligence from Europe; together with some considerations of primary essentials of the work." However, publication was never resumed.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

*Postage Rates on Newspapers and Magazines: 1792-1845*¹²

1792: All *newspapers* conveyed by mail for any distance not more than 100 miles, 1 cent; over 100 miles, 1½ cents.

1794: Reenacted the above rate but fixed the rate for single newspapers sent from one place to another "in the same State" at 1 cent each, regardless of distance. (This special rate for intrastate circulation stimulated the establishment of journals within each State.)

Magazines and pamphlets: 1 cent per sheet for not exceeding 50 miles; 1½ cents for over 50 miles and not exceeding 100 miles; and 2 cents for any greater distance.

1799: Those who received newspapers by post required to pay the amount of one quarter's postage in advance.

1815-1816: Postage rates increased 50 per cent (probably due to the cost of the War of 1812). The increases were repealed and the original rates restored March 31, 1816.

¹¹*Quarterly Theological Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 1.

¹²Abstracted from "Postage Rates: 1789-1930", published by the United States Post Office Department, pp. 2-5.

1816-1825: "Every 4 folio pages, or 8 quarto pages, or 16 octavo pages, of a *pamphlet or magazine* shall be considered a *sheet*," and the surplus pages of any pamphlet or magazine were also considered a sheet.

1825-1845: *Newspapers* conveyed by mail, 1 cent for any distance not more than 100 miles; 1½ cents for any greater distance. Single newspapers from any one place to another *in the same State*, 1 cent.

Magazines and pamphlets published periodically, transported in the mails to subscribers, 1½ cents a sheet for any distance not exceeding 100 miles, and 2½ cents for any greater distance.

Magazines and pamphlets not periodically published, 4 cents on each sheet for any distance not exceeding 100 miles, and 6 cents for any greater distance.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST CHURCH WEEKLIES

FREDERIC HUDSON¹ devotes a chapter to a rather extensive discussion of the question, "What was the first religious newspaper in America?" Unfortunately, he does not first answer the prior question, "What is a religious newspaper?" In religious journalism there is not a very clear-cut distinction between the newspaper and the review or magazine. It does not seem fair to base the argument on size, as are some of the claims set forth in Hudson's book. Nor can content be the sole claim, for even the earliest religious periodicals contained some news, or "intelligence," as they called it.

Generally speaking, however, a weekly religious publication may be considered to some extent a newspaper, while the fortnightly, monthly, and quarterly periodicals may be more properly described as magazines or reviews. The question may therefore be more properly asked: Which was the first weekly periodical?

So far as the Episcopal Church is concerned, the answer to this question is probably to be found in an interesting little paper called the *Layman's Magazine*,² published at Martinsburg, Virginia, in 1815 and 1816. This is a unique publication in many ways and is quite rare.³

1. THE LAYMAN'S MAGAZINE

The *Layman's Magazine* was small, each issue containing eight pages, two columns to a page, in a size a little larger than a normal octavo. Its makeup was surprisingly modern in many ways. It had no cover, displaying its title in a banner at the top of page one, like a present-day newspaper, and under that as a motto: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind—and thy neighbor as thyself."⁴ Beneath that was the date-line

¹Hudson, F., *Journalism in the United States*. N. Y., Harpers, 1875.

²Or *Lay-Man's Magazine*, as the title is given.

³The only copies the author has been able to locate are in the library of the General Theological Seminary, which has a bound volume containing Nos. 1 to 16, and Nos. 18, 19, 22, 23, 25 to 33, 35 to 38, and 41 to 51. It is not mentioned in Brewer, *History of Religious Education*, which lists most of the Church periodicals of this period.

⁴It may be remarked in passing that this was one of the few 19th century religious periodicals that consistently followed this precept. Most of them forgot it when they got into the realm of controversy and polemics.

between double rules, also in a close approximation to present-day style, with volume and number at the sides.

The editor of this interesting periodical was a notable character, Benjamin Allen.³ He was born in Hudson, N. Y., in 1789, and achieved some fame as a poet. Raised a Presbyterian, a comparison of the distinctive features of the two Churches led him to become an Episcopalian, and he became an active lay reader under Bishop Moore of Virginia, serving under the direction of the Rev. William Meade. It was while he was a lay reader that he founded the *Layman's Magazine*. Later he was ordained, and after a ministry of several years in Jefferson and Berkeley counties, Virginia, he went to Philadelphia, where he was rector of St. Paul's Church until his death in 1829. Martinsburg was and is the county seat of Berkeley County, which was then in Virginia but is now in the state of West Virginia.

The truly apostolic zeal of Benjamin Allen is shown by the account of his activities given by Bishop Meade, who, after describing the leading Virginia clergymen of the day, wrote:⁴

"Having thus brought the history of the ministers and churches of Norborne parish to the time when, by God's blessing, a new order of things commenced, I now proceed to make mention of the chief instrument by which the revival was effected. On Christmas eve, in the year 1814, a little after dark, there entered into my house a gentleman who introduced himself to me as Mr. Allen, from New York, with letters of introduction from Bishop Moore and Dr. Wilmer, certifying that he was a candidate for Orders, and wished employment in the valley as a lay-reader. Although the roads were in their worst condition, much rain having fallen, he had in two short days walked from Alexandria to my house, about sixty miles. Carrying him with me to the Old Chapel the next day, we met with Mr. Beverley Whiting and his sister, Miss Betsy, from Jefferson county, who had, as they and others near them afterward did, come about fifteen miles to church through bad roads. Into their hands I consigned Mr. Allen, on a horse which I had lent him. In just two weeks he returned in high spirits. He had itinerated through the whole of Jefferson and Berkeley counties, found out all the principal families who were still attached to the Church, established at least twelve places for services, and received a kind invitation from Mr. Whiting and his sister to bring his little family to their house

³A splendid biography of Benjamin Allen was written by his brother, the Rev. Thomas G. Allen. *This Memoir of the Rev. Benjamin Allen* (Philadelphia, 1832), contains many interesting and valuable references to the *Layman's Magazine* and other contemporary religious periodicals. Also, Sprague, V, 589-596.

⁴From Bishop Meade's *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, originally published in 1857 and largely reprinted in *Bishop Peterkin's Records of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Western Virginia and East Virginia*, 1902. This quotation is taken from the latter publication, pp. 494-496.

and make it a home for the present. To Alexandria he immediately returned, where his wife and infant were, and without delay, in a spell of bitter cold weather in the month of January, brought them up in a road-wagon of Mr. Whiting's, on its return from Alexandria, to which it had carried a load of flour.

"Mr. Whiting's was his home for a considerable time,—for years indeed; and even after a parsonage was provided his visits to that abode of hospitality were frequent and long. From this time until the year 1821, with feeble health, the pressure of debt upon him, a growing family, he perhaps rode as great a distance, preached as often, studied his Bible as much, and prepared as many things for the press, as any man of his day. No one had a better opportunity than myself of knowing this, for I had often to go the rounds with him, doing more duty from necessity than I ever did before or have done since. Sleeping in the room with him, often I have seen him watch the morning light with his little Bible, and reading it when others were sleeping. I have travelled with him, and seen that Bible, or some other book, in his hand on horseback, and during any little spare time in private hours busy with his pen preparing something for the press.

"While thus itinerating in these counties, and also in the adjoining county in Maryland, he was conducting a little paper called the '*Layman's Magazine*,' and actually abridged and published the *History of the Reformation* by Burnet, in a small volume, and compiled a history of the whole Church in two octavo volumes. All this he did while, like an honest man, he was paying his debts out of a small salary and the scanty profits of these publications, if indeed there were any. For nine years he thus laboured, contracting his sphere, though not his diligence, by the introduction of one or two ministers into some of the numerous places he had taken in charge, when he was called to St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, being the next choice to Bishop McIlvaine. His labours in such a congregation and city were of course not diminished. He again issued a religious magazine, and engaged in every plan for promoting Sunday-schools, infant-schools, Bible classes, missionary societies, and all such things, being especially interested in Bishop Chase's College in Ohio."

Of his decision to publish this periodical, Benjamin Allen wrote to his brother on December 5, 1815,⁷

"I am publishing for the use of my people a paper called the *Layman's Magazine*. I have directed the publisher to send the first numbers to you. I wish to have this widely circulated, as I shall take great pains to insert such material as shall convince the people there is piety in our Church, and that she is

⁷*Memoir of Benjamin Allen*, p. 138.

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⁷*Memoir of Benjamin Allen*, p. 138.

flourishing in other lands beside Virginia. If you like it, I wish you would get your people to take it, and send me their names as speedily as possible—\$1.50 per annum, published weekly. I have nothing to do with it, except furnishing the matter. I wish you would take pains to circulate it, for I believe it will do good. I shall draw largely from the *Christian Observer*."

Later he writes, "The printer in Martinsburg has generously undertaken to issue it at his own risk, and I must see him unhurt in it." The imprint, beginning with No. 10, January 18, 1816, was: "Printed by John Alburtis, Martinsburgh, Virginia."

The first number of the *Layman's Magazine* begins with the statement that "Every new enterprise in which man engages, should be preceded by looking to God for his blessing," and therefore invokes the Prayer Book collect:

"Direct us, O Lord, in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help; that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy Name, and finally, by thy mercy, obtain everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The next few sentences might well be used *verbatim* as the preface to a periodical begun in 1942:

"We live in astonishing times. Revolution after revolution stalks across our field of vision. The very elements of society seem in wild uproar. The pillars of ancient kingdoms totter to their fall. Empires themselves crumble in the dust. We behold not a few thousands, as in former years, but millions marshalled to the field of combat. We see the blood of the human family rolling (*sic*) in torrents; we hear the groans of myriads of orphans. The destroying angel is hurling tempest after tempest of desolation across the face of the globe."

A vivid piece of writing, and as modern as tomorrow's newspaper!

The writer believed that the end of the world was almost in sight. "We know," he wrote, that

"Jesus shall reign where'er the Sun
Doth his successive journeys run:

therefore we cannot but hope that the times now passing over us are indications of the great millenium."

The object of his periodical, the editor added, was to act as a herald of the Cross. Then, with what appears to the modern reader as a terrific

anti-climax, he says: "Essays to do good will from time to time appear in our pages."

The *Layman's Magazine* contained a surprising variety of material, considering its small size. One feature was the publication of series of stories, the first three of which were entitled *The Cottager's Wife*, *The Dairyman's Daughter*, and *The Young Cottager*.⁸

The subscription price of the *Layman's Magazine* was \$1.50 a year if paid within two months—later extended to six months—of the beginning of the subscription; "where payment is longer delayed, two dollars per annum will be expected."

With the fourth number, Church news from Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and other states began to be included. These items were prefixed with a very business-like date-line: "New Haven (Conn.), Dec. 1."

In the issue of February 22, 1816 (Washington's Birthday), a long extract is given from "General Washington's circular letter to the Governors of the several states," which the editor says "is introduced . . . to refute the assertion frequently repeated, that notwithstanding the recognitions so often and so solemnly made by the author of the providence of God, he was yet really not a believer in divine revelation."

One really good poem is contained in the issue of September 12, 1816—*A Night in a Stage Coach*, being a meditation on the way between London and Bristol, by James Montgomery.⁹

The last issue of the *Layman's Magazine* now available is the issue of November 7, 1816. Whether others were published is not clear, but this issue contained the usual "advertisement" offering a discount to subscribers who would obtain "two other responsible subscribers."¹⁰

⁸These were familiar Sunday School tracts of the day, widely used throughout the Episcopal Church, as well as the Church of England, in which they originated. The author was the Rev. Legh Richmond, a Bedfordshire rector, and the narratives originally appeared in England in the *Christian Guardian*. In the preface to a collection of them in book form (*Annals of the Poor*, Baltimore: Neal, Willis & Cole, 2nd ed., 1816), the author says: "The Dairyman's Daughter has been printed and circulated as a Tract, in various languages, and through different channels. About five hundred thousand copies have been thus distributed within less than three years, chiefly at a very low price, for the benefit of the poor."

⁹James Montgomery (1771-1854), British poet and journalist, editor for 30 years of the Sheffield "Iris," and author of "Lectures on Poetry and General Literature" (1833), was probably the author. Seventeen of his hymns are still in the official Hymnal (1916 edition) of the American Episcopal Church. See *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1941 edition), Volume 15, p. 766.

¹⁰The *Layman's Magazine* was a remarkably well-edited little paper—the first weekly of the Episcopal Church—and it deserved a wider support and longer life than it seems to have had.

2. *THE SUNDAY VISITANT* (1818-1819).

The second weekly publication of the Episcopal Church also appeared in the South, this time at Charleston, South Carolina. This was *The Sunday Visitant or Weekly Repository of Christian Knowledge*, the first issue of which was dated January 3, 1818. Of it Dr. Brewer writes:¹¹

"This was a little paper, four small folio pages each issue, edited by the Rev. Andrew Fowler. It was designed to be read on Sundays, and was 'particularly calculated for the use of young persons.'¹² These purposes made the periodical somewhat different from those that have been described; its pages contained many explanations of Biblical passages and of Prayer Book and Church principles. It was not precisely a children's magazine, however, for most of its material was too advanced for a child's comprehension. Anyway, the great majority of children who would most need the instruction given in the columns of the *Visitant* had not yet had opportunity to learn to read well. Probably Fowler used the term 'young persons' in a general way to express his hope of reaching more than the elderly and the sedate Church members. The *Visitant* existed at least two years."¹³

3. *THE CHURCH RECORD* and Its Successors (1822-1829).

But the two Church weeklies mentioned above were only local publications with small circulations. They did not have any considerable influence on the Church at large and, in fact, were probably scarcely known beyond the limits of the respective states in which they were published.

The first weekly publication of the Episcopal Church to have any considerable circulation or influence was the one founded at Philadelphia in 1822 under the name of the *Church Record*. The first issue¹⁴ consisted of eight octavo pages and the management was vested in a board consisting of a number of prominent clergymen.¹⁵ After October, in

¹¹As I have been unable to consult a file of this periodical, I have had to take the information from Dr. Brewer's book, p. 276. For a biography of the Rev. Andrew Fowler, see E. C. Chorley, "Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church," Volume III (1934), pp. 270-279.

¹²The *Sunday Visitant*, I, No. 1, p. 1. The price was \$2.50 a year.

¹³No. 52, of the second volume, dated Dec. 25, 1819, is the latest issue of the *Visitant* discovered; it says nothing about ceasing publication.

¹⁴The *Church Record*, June 22, 1822.

¹⁵Brewer, *History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church*, p. 281, identifies these as including Messrs. Kemper, Boyd, Montgomery, Allen, Bedell, DuPuy and DeLancey. Kemper and DeLancey later became bishops.

order to save expense,¹⁸ the publication appeared only every second week but was sixteen pages in size.

In April, 1823, the name of the *Church Record* was changed to the *Philadelphia Recorder*¹⁷ and beginning with the first of the following year the Rev. E. R. Lippitt became the editor.¹⁸ The *Recorder* was a weekly of four folio pages, the subscription price being at first \$3.00 a year and later \$2.50 a year.¹⁹ After about eight months of the Rev. Mr. Lippitt's editorship, the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell succeeded him as editor. In assuming the editorship, Bedell stated that he would not disparage the ministry and worship of other Christian bodies, remarking that "if he expects to meet with his brethren of other denominations in heaven he sees no reason to avoid them on earth."²⁰

The *Recorder* went through various vicissitudes and changed editors several times. Nevertheless, the periodical was growing and Dr. Brewer observes²¹ that by March, 1827, it had 1,200 subscribers or nearly twice as many as there were when Bedell became editor. However, in the autumn of 1827 Dr. Bedell had to resign the editorship because of ill health.²² In 1831 the name was changed to the *Episcopal Recorder*²³ though the numbering was continued and the *Washington Theological Repertory* was absorbed by it.²⁴

The *Episcopal Recorder* was a vigorous periodical, standing for Low Church evangelical principles. It took a strong partisan stand on matters of churchmanship.²⁵ The editor of the *Episcopal Recorder* was the Rev. George A. Smith. The *Episcopal Recorder* had a long and influential history, becoming in the 1840's and 1860's one of the most influential periodicals of the Episcopal Church and continuing until the

¹⁸The subscription price was only \$1.00 a year.

¹⁷*Philadelphia Recorder*, April 5, 1823.

¹⁸Brewer, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

¹⁹*Philadelphia Recorder*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 1 and 2.

²⁰Quoted from *Philadelphia Recorder*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 1-2, by Brewer, *op. cit.*, p. 281. Dr. Brewer adds that Bedell received no remuneration as editor.

²¹*Op. cit.*, p. 281.

²²The *Episcopal Watchman*, Oct. 22, 1827, observes: "We are sorry to see it announced in the last number of this paper, that the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, 'finding it incompatible with the state of his health and the discharge of other obligations, to pay that attention to the editorial department which its present circulation seems to demand, has felt it his duty to retire for a season from so laborious an occupation.' In the meantime the control of the paper will be placed in the hands of those with whom he has felt it his duty and privilege to act on the questions of policy which have been agitated in the diocese." From Dr. Chorley's clippings. (In this and subsequent references to the Chorley clippings it is impossible to give exact references as Dr. Chorley merely indicates the name of the publication from which his clipping is taken and the year.) Dr. Bedell died August 30, 1834. For biography, see Sprague, V, 554-560.

²³*Episcopal Recorder*, Vol. 9, No. 1, Apr. 2, 1831, p. 1. Vide also letter in the *Churchman*, June 11, 1831.

²⁴Vide *supra*, pp. 227-228.

²⁵Brewer, *History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church*, p. 282.

year 1865.²⁶ It was strengthened from time to time by the absorption of other periodicals, the most important being the *Western Episcopalian* in September, 1859.²⁷ Under the editorship of the Rev. Mr. Smith the *Episcopal Recorder* continued until March, 1865, when it came to an end for somewhat obscure reasons—probably the difficulty of securing an editor to succeed Smith and the transfer of the allegiance of many of its readers to the *Churchman* and the *Banner of the Cross*, which by that time had become the leading publications of the Episcopal Church.

4. THE CHURCH REGISTER (1826-1829).

The *Church Register* was a weekly, issued in large format with three columns to the page, published by Judah Dobson (agent) at 108 Chestnut St., Philadelphia. Bishop White was the patron of this new periodical, and the editor was the Rev. Dr. George Weller.²⁸ Dr. Weller had been rector of St. Stephen's Church, Cecil County, Maryland, and it was an article of his entitled "Vindication of the Church" that brought him to the favorable attention of Bishop White and led him to invite Weller to become editor of the new periodical, which he edited for three years "with much ability." In addition to his editorship of the *Church Register*, and despite chronic ill health, he held services regularly at Hamilton Village and Mantua, Pa.²⁹ The former place is now that part of Philadelphia where the University of Pennsylvania is located.

The title page of the first volume of the *Church Register* contained a cut of the General Theological Seminary^{29-a} in New York and the *Register* throughout showed a great interest in the progress of this institution. The first issue was dated Saturday, January 4, 1826. The prospectus gave as its aim: "to diffuse correct views of the religion of

²⁶Bound file of *Episcopal Recorder* in library of General Theological Seminary.

²⁷Clipping from final issue of *Western Episcopalian* in Chorley clippings. The *Western Episcopalian* was the successor of the *Western Church Journal* which in turn had succeeded the *Gambier Observer*. Vide below, pp. 262-264.

²⁸He was the grandfather of the Rt. Rev. Reginald Heber Weller, bishop of Fond du Lac, 1912-1933. An interesting biography of George Weller is contained in Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. V, pp. 601-605, from which the facts concerning him are taken.

²⁹He also edited, about this time, for a Philadelphia publisher, the first American collection of the poems of Bishop Heber, to which he prefixed a short biography. Besides this, he republished several short treatises on Church doctrines, written by standard authors. He also acted as secretary and agent of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, and wrote a full report of its proceedings for 1828." Op. cit., pp. 603-604, letter of the Rev. Joseph C. Passmore.

^{29-a}Authorized by the General Convention in 1817, it was finally settled in New York City in 1821. For the best history of the Seminary thus far written, see "Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church," Vol. V (1936), pp. 145-264.

the gospel, its progress and condition—of the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies of the Church, explaining and vindicating them, consistently with the best authorities and established practice." Further objects were to promote the new Missionary Society, the General Theological Seminary, and so on.

The *Church Register* was welcomed by the *Christian Journal* and was endorsed by Bishop William White of Pennsylvania, by the Rev. Jackson Kemper, later missionary bishop of the Northwest, and others. The subscription price was \$2.30 a year in advance, or \$3.00 if paid during the year.

The *Church Register* began in a modest way with eight pages and no advertising. Beginning in the second issue there were several small advertisements at the end of each issue. Although intended to be primarily a missionary publication, the *Church Register* became involved in various controversies on questions of churchmanship, ritual, and so on. It was low church in its tendency and opposed such practices as bowing at the name of Jesus and other practices of a catholic nature.

A contemporary in 1827³⁰ expressed "lively satisfaction" at the "steady and uniform progress" of the *Church Register*, adding: "While we willingly yield it the honours of seniority, it will be our aim to emulate the praise-worthy spirit, with which it has hitherto pursued its undeviating course." It was suggested, however, that, "without materially diminishing its permanent value as a depository of durable papers," the editor "might perhaps make room for more of those topics of temporary interest, which it is the chief and especial design of a newspaper to disseminate."

The issue of the *Church Register* for December 27, 1828, contains a valedictory message from the editor. He writes sadly that the paper was started "in the honest belief that a weekly publication, devoted exclusively to the interests of religion, was much needed." However, it proved that such a periodical was not supported and "the hopes with which he (the editor) entered upon the work have proved abortive, and after a patient trial for three years, accompanied by many difficulties, he is compelled to abandon them and retire from the work." He did not anticipate painful controversy, meaning rather to have a general publication, but "he was insensibly drawn aside from his purposes, to give to the *Register* far more of a local character, and to place upon his pages more articles of a temporary, and, he regrets to say, even of a

³⁰The *Episcopal Watchman*, March 26, 1827.

personal character, than was agreeable to himself at the time, or will now be justified by him."

In the same issue it was reported that the paper was "transferred to the present publisher, Mr. Jasper Harding,³¹ and will be continued by him with competent editorial assistance." Mr. Harding gathered together an editorial board consisting of the Rev. Messrs. DeLancey, Kemper, Meade, Montgomery, and Rutledge, and managed to continue the *Register* for another year. With the close of the year 1829, however, the *Church Register* suffered the usual fate of periodicals that were managed by boards instead of by individual editors and came to an end, being succeeded by the *Protestant Episcopal and Church Register*.³²

5. GOSPEL MESSENGER (1827-1863).

We have seen how Bishop Hobart, after transferring the *Churchman's Magazine* to the Rev. John C. Rudd, subsequently encouraged the establishment of the *Christian Register*, and (when that failed) of the *Christian Journal* in New York. Similarly Mr. Rudd, after he lost the *Churchman's Magazine*, felt the desire to establish a new Church paper. This he did, calling it the *Gospel Messenger*,³³ and the first issue was published at Auburn, N. Y., under date of January 20, 1827. It was a four-column quarto, and was published weekly. In his prospectus, which was addressed "to the Clergy, Members and friends of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Western part of the State of New York," the editor, Mr. Rudd,³⁴ said:

"It must be plain to those who consider the wants of our Communion, that a weekly paper devoted to the interests of Evangelical Piety, and sound religious information judiciously conducted, would contribute very materially to that edification and comfort which it should be our aim to promote.

"Whether the plan proposed in this specimen of a paper, which it is contemplated to publish regularly, will meet the object in view—whether it can be judiciously conducted, and whether it will receive the requisite patronage, are questions for

³¹Mr. Harding had been previously listed as the printer.

³²*Protestant Episcopal and Church Register*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 1.

³³There was already a monthly *Gospel Messenger*, published in Charleston, South Carolina. (See pp. 256-258.) This publication objected to the unauthorized use of its name, but to no avail. For a biography of the Rev. John Churchill Rudd, see W. B. Sprague, "Annals of the American Pulpit," V, 501-506.

³⁴Unlike previous custom, Mr. Rudd signed his name to the prospectus.

the consideration of Episcopalians in this part of the State, and which time must be required to answer."

Continuing, the prospectus outlined a plan for a "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Piety," the constitution for which was appended.³⁵

It was further announced that

"This *Gospel Messenger* will be devoted to the promotion of religious Truth, and practical holiness of life. In the accomplishment of this object a steady regard will be had to the wants of the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this portion of the country, and reference will be maintained to those views of Christian³⁶ Doctrine which are sustained in the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of this Church. It is deemed due to candor and honesty fully to avoid the design of this undertaking, and to say that while we never intend to seek occasions for differing with other denominations, we shall not hesitate to defend ourselves, and the principles of the Communion to which we belong, when they are made the subjects of attack, and to animadvert with plainness and good temper upon whatever may appear connected with the spread of evangelical truth, and the encouragement of those tempers and habits which should adorn the Christian."

Although the prospectus stated that "Another number of the paper will not be issued until the undersigned has received such information and opinions from his Reverend Brethren and the friends of the Church, as will justify his progress in the work," the second number did appear a week later.³⁷

The columns of the *Gospel Messenger* were catholic and eclectic. The first issue contained a full report of the proceedings of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, an account of the opening of a new Methodist chapel and of a Franco-German Protestant church in Naples, Italy, a letter from a traveller in Africa, a thanksgiving sermon on the sound theme that "every Christian family ought to have some periodical publication of religious Intelligence," an item about a new

³⁵This society was organized on March 7, 1827, the constitution ratified, and the Hon. Nathan Williams elected president. Thereafter the *Gospel Messenger* appeared under its auspices, and tracts were also published. Three months later, at a meeting in Trinity Church, Geneva, receipts of \$57.00 were announced, including one life subscription at \$10.00 and several annual subscriptions. The regular subscription price was \$1.50, plus a 25 cent penalty if not paid within the year.

³⁶Misprinted "Christain."

³⁷At least, it is so dated, but it was not uncommon for periodicals to come out a week or two later than the publication date, and sometimes two issues appeared simultaneously.

reflecting telescope, a summary of public affairs,³⁸ marriage and death notices,³⁹ and over a column of verse clipped from other papers.

General as well as religious news was a prominent feature of this paper, items often appearing under such "headlines" as "Horrible Catastrophe!" "Affecting Incident," and the like.

Another popular feature consisted of biographies of the bishops, some original and some quoted.

The *Gospel Messenger* of April 14, 1827, devotes nearly a page to a memoir of Bishop Heber of Calcutta, one of the great statesmen of the Anglican Church, who died April 3, 1826. Included in this is an important document in the history of the *rapprochement* between the Anglican communion and the ancient Churches of the East—a letter to the Archbishop Mar Athanasius, Metropolitan of the Syrian (St. Thomas) Church of Malabar,⁴⁰ warning him to "beware of the emissaries of the Bishop of Rome, whose hands have been dipped in the blood of the saints, from whose tyranny our Church in England hath been long freed by the blessing of God, and we hope to continue in that freedom for ever."

Throughout the *Gospel Messenger* the note of joy in religion was constantly sounded, in contrast to the gloomy puritanism of the Protestant Churches of the day. A series of articles pointed out that the Episcopal Church definitely rejects Calvinism, with its repressive and dour doctrines; other articles tell of notable examples of "religion with cheerfulness."

A considerable part of the contents of the *Gospel Messenger* was written by the editor himself who, in the fashion of the day, concealed his identity under various pseudonyms and initials.⁴¹ Other original contributors with their *noms de plume*, included Rev. A. L. Hollister, (H.), J. D. Carder (Latimer and Leighton), Rev. F. M. Cuming (Franklin), Rev. H. Gregory (Epaphras), Rev. R. Salmon (Pioneer),

³⁸Two typical items—"A line of stages has commenced running from Albany to Montreal on the west side of the lake, three times a week; to run through in three days." "A large number of respectable free people of color are about to embark in the vessel called the *Doris*, at Baltimore, for Liberia."

³⁹Here is a particularly choice one (issue of March 24, 1827): "Died—at Scituate, Mass., Mrs. Nancy James, wife of Mr. Benjamin James. She was attending to her domestic duties, and appeared in perfect health, when she exclaimed, 'I am dying'; in ten minutes she was a corpse."

⁴⁰This venerable and large Christian Church of India claims to have been founded by the Apostle St. Thomas, who, according to their tradition, went to India after the death of Christ.

⁴¹The bound copy of volume III in the General Theological Seminary Library bears the autograph and notation, "J. C. Rudd—never to be lent or parted with." It is evidently the editor's master file, and has attached to the fly-leaf a page in his handwriting giving a key to many of the pseudonyms. He himself used all of the following signatures: *Expositor*, *Borne*, *G. M.*, *Presbyter*, *M. G.*, *James Hazeiah*, *One in the West*, *E.*, *E. D.*, and others.

Mr. B. Hinman of Auburn (N. H.), Rev. E. G. Gear (E. G. G.), and even—rather surprisingly—a woman, one Mrs. Taylor of Oneida County (Alma).

Like all Church papers, the *Gospel Messenger* was constantly engaged in the effort to gain new subscribers, and also to get the old ones to renew. A curious method of stimulating renewals is noted in the first number of volume III (January 17, 1829), wherein "those who intend to discontinue their patronage of the *Messenger* are *particularly requested* to return this number through the post-office, to the Editor, without delay. Those who neglect to do so will be considered responsible for the third volume."

For three years the *Gospel Messenger* continued to issue a four-page paper every Saturday. At the beginning of 1829 the editor promised a larger paper if increased support were forthcoming, but in the issue of February 14, 1829, he lamented the fact that not only has he not received added support, but some of his readers, taking offense at his failure to enlarge the paper, have discontinued their subscriptions! "Truly," says he, "the poor Editor is in evil case. He offers to enlarge his sheet if he can receive adequate support,—that support does not come but the enlargement is expected.—The straw is no longer offered, and yet the tale of bricks is required."

In 1829, however, Dr. Rudd did succeed in obtaining enough donations to purchase a press for the S. P. C. K. & P., and thereafter the *Gospel Messenger* issued from the "Society's Press," described as "a few rods East of the Episcopal Church," and which also advertised job printing. And in the issue of November 27, 1830, is stated: "The office of the *Gospel Messenger* has, during the last week, been removed to the brick building on the South-West corner of St. Peter's Church yard. The books and *Messenger* accounts are kept by the Editor at the Parsonage House, on the opposite corner of the same yard."⁴²

But the matter of inadequate support continued to trouble the *Messenger*, and Dr. Rudd was compelled to make frequent appeals, such as that in the issue of December 11, 1830, in which he observed that "we are in very great need, of what the Printer and Paper-maker tell us is very material to our comfort, that is, *Cash*."

In December, 1831, Dr. Rudd suffered an attack of influenza, which was widely prevalent at the time. Ever ready to share with his

⁴²This was evidently a gala week for the editor, for, in addition to the moving of his office, we read that he was "politely presented a few days since, by Horace Hills, Esq., from his garden in this village, with an uncommonly beautifully formed Cauliflower measuring 15 inches in diameter and weighing ten pounds and three-quarters." And a week later he acknowledges receipt of another cauliflower, this time from Mr. Hiram Bostwick, "measuring full 15 inches in diameter, and when divested of all its leaves and the stock, weighing 12 pounds."

readers, after apologizing for the inadequacy of that issue, he "so far exert[s] his pen" as to give the "*recipe*, from the use of which he is not only now deriving material benefit, but from which he has seen in his own family and in various others through a series of many years, the best results in *all* cases of severe colds and stubborn coughs."⁴³

In a summary at the end of Volume V—issue of February 4, 1832—it is stated that the *Gospel Messenger* was still indebted to the printer of the first two and a half volumes, before the S. P. C. K. & P. had obtained its own press. It is surprising, in view of its debts and constant appeals, that the *Gospel Messenger* was able to continue its existence. Nevertheless it did so, moving with Dr. Rudd from Auburn to Utica in 1833, and continuing as late as the Civil War, the last number appearing in 1863. As Dr. Brewer well observes:⁴⁴ "Naturally much of its material was local, but it was so far from being provincial in its spirit and makeup, and it was such an efficient piece of Church journalism, that it commanded response and received the compliment of being quoted often by other Church periodicals."

After 1835 the *Gospel Messenger* was published in Utica. It continued to be edited capably, though not brilliantly, by Mr. Rudd; and while it probably never had a very wide circulation it served upper New York State and the surrounding territory faithfully, and circulated to some extent among New York emigrants in the West and South. It came to an end during the Civil War, when so many of the orderly processes of American life were rudely interrupted.

Charles W. Hayes, historian of the diocese of Western New York, wrote of the *Gospel Messenger*:⁴⁵

"For forty-five years it continued to be, in reality as well as in name, 'The Church Record of Western New York,' and, like its predecessor, the *Christian Journal* (1817-1830), an invaluable store-house of Western New York history. In this respect, I can safely say that no periodical since its day has begun to take its place. But it was more than this, not only in Western New York, where nearly every intelligent Church family took it in as if it were their daily bread, and read it from end to end, but as years went on, through many a State and Diocese in the West and South to which such families had gone. Dr. Rudd was not a forcible original writer, but

⁴³"*Recipe*.—1 oz. Sugar Candy, that called Rock Candy is best—2 oz. Gum Arabic— $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Liguorice. Let these when broken in a mortar, be dissolved in one pint boiling water. When the mixture is cold add to it two table spoons of Elixir Paregoric and one table spoonful of good Antimonial Wine. An adult may take five or six table spoonfulls of this during twenty four hours. Children a less quantity according to their age."—*Gospel Messenger*, December 3, 1831.

⁴⁴*Op. cit.*, Brewer, p. 288.

⁴⁵*The Diocese of Western New York, Rochester, N. Y., 1904*, pp. 69-70.

he had a rare faculty of selection, both in Church news and in didactic, pastoral and devotional writings, which made the paper *always* interesting as well as profitable. Then it told, surely if slowly, of all that was going on of interest in parochial work; it had the hearty support and constant help of successive Bishops and Clergy of the Diocese, who were frequent contributors to its pages; its Church teaching was thoroughly sound and reasonably progressive, slowly but constantly elevating the tone of thought and teaching in both Clergy and Laity. Later, it brought to the Churchmen of the country the very best thought of the Oxford Movement so stirring the hearts of their English brethren, in a form always persuasive and never offensive. Altogether, it was, I have always thought, the best, though not the ablest, weekly Church paper we have ever had in this country; and there are yet living (1904) hundreds of Western New York Churchmen who will agree heartily in this opinion."

Hayes had in his possession the 45 volumes (1827-1871) of this periodical and, he says, "without them, I need hardly say, this history would be a barren chronicle."

6. THE EPISCOPAL WATCHMAN (1827-1833)

In March, 1827, there appeared the first issue of a weekly periodical that was of exceptional importance. The *Episcopal Watchman* stood in a unique position in that it was at once the successor of the first periodical of the Episcopal Church, the *Churchman's Magazine*, and the forerunner of the first enduring weekly periodical, the *Churchman*. Like the initial venture in Episcopal Church journalism, the *Episcopal Watchman* had its origin in Connecticut, being sponsored by the clergy of that diocese as the successor to both the *Churchman's Magazine* and the *Gospel Advocate*.⁴⁶

The first issue of the *Episcopal Watchman* was dated at Hartford, March 26, 1827. (The title page to volume I bears a cut of Washington [now Trinity] College, Hartford.) In a rather lengthy prospectus, the editors says:

"The publication of the *Churchman's Magazine* being about to cease, in consequence of the death of its lamented editor, the late Rev. Dr. Bronson; and the *Gospel Advocate* being about to be discontinued at the same time, it is proper to substitute for them a *Paper*, which having the same objects in

⁴⁶The *Gospel Advocate* was a monthly publication issued from 1821 to 1826, first at Newburyport and then at Boston, Mass. See pp. 255-256.

view, shall differ from these journals in the variety of its contents, and in the frequency of its issue.

"The objects of the *Watchman* will be the increase of useful knowledge, the promotion of virtue, and the dissemination of pure and undefiled religion. And because it is believed to be the scriptural and most effectual way of advancing the last and greatest of these objects, the elucidation of defence of the doctrines, discipline, and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, will constantly be kept in view.—Other topics will also find a place in the proposed Paper. The cultivation and improvement of the mind, and the refinement of the taste and affections, if made subordinate objects of pursuit, may be rendered auxiliary to the cause of religion . . ."

Some of the principal subjects that the editors promised to include (and subsequently did include) were:

- Biblical criticism
- Sermons, lectures, and essays
- Reviews of new publications
- Church history
- Biography
- Proceedings of conventions
- Episcopal charges
- "Ecclesiastical and missionary intelligence"
- Useful scientific information
- Original and selected poetry
- "General views of Politics, Foreign and Domestic; Summary of passing events, etc., etc."

It was reported that "the Editorial charge of the *Watchman* will be committed to a Clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church of approved talents, learning, and piety; under the superintendence of the Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut, aided by such of his Presbyters as he may find it convenient to consult."

As to profits (if any!): "That portion which may accrue from the subscriptions in Connecticut will be paid into the Treasury of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge—and the profits from the subscriptions in the Eastern Diocese⁴⁷ will be appropriated to the Massachusetts Missionary Society."

The *Episcopal Watchman* consisted of eight pages, three columns to a page, and contained more news than any previous publication, some original, some clipped from other periodicals. The publisher at first was H. Huntington, Jr., "two doors north of the Phoenix Bank, Hart-

⁴⁷This included all of New England except Connecticut.

ford." The price was \$2.00 a year in advance, or \$2.50 if paid after six months. Agents received a 15% commission.

In the first issue of the *Episcopal Watchman*⁴⁸ it was announced:

"No advertisement, except those which relate to religious or literary subjects, will be admitted into the *Watchman*. By this arrangement, in addition to the religious matter which it will contain, room may be found for all the important information contained in the ordinary Newspaper, without the incumbrance of uninteresting advertisements."

The bishop of Connecticut, the Rt. Rev. Thomas Church Brownell, was in charge of the editorial policy of the *Episcopal Watchman*, but the actual editorial work was done by George W. Doane, later bishop of New Jersey, and William Croswell. Croswell was a noted poet, of whom the Rev. Julius H. Ward wrote:⁴⁹

"William Croswell had begun to write poetry before he left Yale College, and when young Doane had become Professor of English Literature at Washington (now Trinity) College, and had projected, in 1827, one of the first Church newspapers, the *Episcopal Watchman*, Croswell removed to Hartford, and became its associate editor, contributing to its columns the sonnets, hymns, and other poems, which have given him a foremost place in the ranks of our Church poets. He struck the note corresponding to that which Keble struck in the 'Christian Year,' and which Bishop Coxe echoed and prolonged, a dozen years later, in the 'Christian Ballads,'—the produce of his student life at the General Theological Seminary,—with touches of fine spiritual enthusiasm not since repeated. Prof. Doane was the first to welcome Keble in America, and his notes to the 'Christian Year' reveal the high quality of his poetical feeling. This was the quality of his poetical feeling. This was the first outburst of native poetry."

These "matchless poems," as Ward called them, were the chief feature of the *Episcopal Watchman* and they alone would have been ample justification for its existence. Indeed, his intimate friend and associate, Bishop Doane, who was himself a poet of no small talent, said of him:⁵⁰

⁴⁸Hartford, Conn., March 26, 1827.

⁴⁹Monograph in Bishop Perry's *History of the American Episcopal Church*, Vol. II, p. 615.

⁵⁰In a commemorative address delivered in the Church of the Advent, Boston, quoted in *A Memoir of William Croswell*, by his father, Henry Croswell, New York, 1853, pp. 10-11.

"His poetical contributions to the *Episcopal Watchman* were numerous, in addition to his invaluable services as editor; and they won for him a high and honorable place among the very few of whom the name of Poet can be given. Every thing that he ever wrote in verse was strictly occasional. It was so much of his heart life set to music. He lived it, every line. And it was all inspired at the hearth side or at the altar foot. It was domestic often, always sacred. He fulfilled, in every verse, that beautiful suggestion of the skylark to the mind of Wordsworth,—

'Type of the wise, who soar, but never roam,
True to the kindred points of heaven and home.'

In that incomparable modesty which set off, its mild opal light, his virtues and his graces, he thought very poorly of these admirable productions, and has half suggested the desire that they may remain still fugitive. But this must not be suffered. They are part and parcel of his nature and of his office. As he lived them, so he preaches in them, and will while the gospel shall be preached."

When Doane was called as assistant minister of Trinity Church, Boston, at the end of 1827, Croswell continued the editorial work alone though he found the routine of it vexing to his poetic nature.⁵¹ Croswell had not yet been ordained but he received holy orders in 1828, after which he remained only to continue the volume of the *Episcopal Watchman* to an end and then gave up his editorial work in favor of the pastoral ministry.

A succession of inexperienced editors followed Croswell and the periodical, which originally consisted of eight quarto pages, was changed to four folio pages. Financial appeals became rather frequent and in November, 1833, the *Episcopal Watchman* was absorbed by the *Churchman*, which had been founded two years previously and which was destined to continue its life with a few interruptions to the present day.

In his final message David S. Porter, publisher of the *Episcopal Watchman*, wrote (*Churchman*, November, 1833): "The following

⁵¹His father writes: (*Memoirs of William Croswell*, p. 50) "In the capacity of editor, as in every other occupation in which he engaged, he labored with all diligence and fidelity; but it must not be disguised that it was not the pursuit of his choice, neither was it congenial with his taste. It brought him too directly and too constantly before the public. In the course of the year, he felt some misgivings as to the propriety of his remaining in this highly responsible station, and once or twice had half resolved, through the solicitation of his friends in the seminary, and with the entire approbation of his father, to return and finish his course in that institution. But he found it impracticable to break up his connection with the paper without disobliging his friends, and, chiefly on this account, was induced to remain at his post."

preamble and resolutions were adopted by the clergy of the diocese of Connecticut, at a convocation recently held in the city of Norwich:

"Whereas it is understood that the present number of subscribers to the *Watchman* will not enable the Publisher to continue that work:

"Resolved, That we are willing for ourselves, and will use our influence to obtain the consent of our parishioners, to transfer the list of subscribers to the proprietors of the *Churchman* on the following terms, viz.

"The present subscribers to the *Watchman* to receive the *Churchman* in its stead, on the same terms as those of which the *Watchman* is now published.'

"By the above preamble and resolution it will be seen that the subject of a transfer of the *Episcopal Watchman* to the proprietors of the *Churchman* has been matter of consultation with the clergy of the Diocese of Connecticut. In pursuance of their advice a transfer has been made, and hereafter the subscribers of the *Watchman* will be served with the *Churchman*, until the expiration of their respective subscriptions, on the same terms on which they were to receive the former paper.

"The Publisher of the *Watchman* does not deem it necessary, in taking leave of his subscribers, to say aught concerning the paper which is substituted. Its character and standing are too well known to Churchmen to require his recommendation, and he doubts not that the change will be both acceptable and advantageous.

"The cause leading to this change is expressed in the preamble above, viz., a want of sufficient patronage. Why this should have been, it is needless at this time to inquire; but now that New England has no Episcopal paper of her own, it is not too much to expect that efficient support from that quarter will be given to the paper which a convocation of a part of her clergy has recommended.

"All unsettled accounts of the *Watchman* are to be settled with the proprietors of the *Churchman*, to whom all remittances hereafter must be made.

"DAVID S. PORTER,

"Former Publisher and Proprietor of the
Episcopal Watchman."

7. THE BANNER OF THE CHURCH (1831-1832)

The *Banner of the Church* was another New England publication, the first issue appearing at Boston under date of September 3, 1831. Its origin was apparently due to dissatisfaction with the *Episcopal Watchman* which, it will be recalled, had continued the two earlier

New England publications, the *Churchman's Magazine* and the *Gospel Advocate*. Since the absorption of the *Advocate* by the *Episcopal Watchman* there had been no Church publication in Massachusetts, the *Watchman* being published in Connecticut. Dr. Brewer says:⁵²

"Either the Connecticut cities monopolized the *Watchman* or else the Massachusetts people became dissatisfied with it, for in April, 1831, some of the Massachusetts clergy met with the Bishop to discuss the possibility of starting another Church periodical; in the absence of definite action at this meeting, a few of those most interested, one of whom was the Rev. George W. Doane, took on themselves afterward the task of setting up a 'banner' of their own. Hence, the name of 'The *Banner of the Church*.'"

In the first issue the editors, who were also the proprietors, announced: "The publication of the *Banner of the Church* is undertaken entirely on individual responsibility and with an express intention of no individual profit."⁵³ Not only were the editors and owners to take no remuneration but they announced that they had agreed with the publishers, Messrs. Stimpson & Clapp, to be responsible for one half of any deficit that might accrue. Moreover, they pledged themselves that if the circulation should exceed 1,200 they would donate their half of the profits (the other half going to the publishers) "to the Church, for the support of missions, or of Theological Education, or for the cheap or gratuitous distribution of Bibles, prayer books, or other publications calculated to disseminate and defend 'Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order.'"

The subscription price was set at \$1.00 a year and four pages were published weekly in quarto format.⁵⁴

The *Banner of the Church* consisted mostly of editorials and special articles with occasional long news items. For the most part, however, the news was confined to a chronicle of confirmations, ordinations, and other routine events.

As the *Banner of the Church* continued and became more firmly established, it gave somewhat more space to the news of the Church, reporting events not only in New England but as far afield as Ohio and South Carolina.

⁵²*Op. cit.*, Brewer, p. 297.

⁵³*Banner of the Church*, September 3, 1831.

⁵⁴The editors however did not consider the publication a true quarto for in their third number, p. 12, acknowledging the courtesy of the *Episcopal Watchman* in reviewing the first number of the *Banner of the Church* they said, "Will the editor do us the favor to say, in his next number, that it is printed not in quarto but in small folio."

Like its predecessors, the *Banner of the Church* met with financial difficulties from the outset. In one issue⁵⁵ it appealed for more subscriptions and related the story of one correspondent as follows:

"A valued correspondent, who bears all desirable testimony to the spirit, design, and execution of the *Banner of the Church*, tells us that he shall do what he can to circulate it among the people of his parish, *with the beginning* of the second volume! We are glad that he anticipates for our poor labors more than a year's endurance and trust that his anticipation may be realized but if our printer generally were to adopt his course, to what purpose should we labor? It were better, as the honest Irishman proposed, that we had begun with the second volume."

The *Banner of the Church* did manage to continue into a second volume but not to complete it. The last issue was that for November 24, 1832 (Vol. 2, No. 7), when the publication of the *Banner of the Church* was discontinued and the subscription list turned over to the *Churchman*. Dr. Brewer quotes the *Episcopal Recorder*⁵⁶ as giving the reason for the *Banner's* suspension "the removal of Bishop Doane, late one of the editors, to another diocese." It is true that Doane was bishop of New Jersey on October 31, 1832, but it is probable that financial reasons were the real cause of the discontinuance of the periodical.

Associated with Dr. Doane as editor of the *Banner of the Church* was the poet, William Crosswell, who had previously been co-editor with him of the *Episcopal Watchman* and Crosswell's poems appeared from time to time in its columns, together with those of the English poet-priest, John Keble.

8. CHRONICLE OF THE CHURCH (1837-1845)

Although the *Churchman* had taken over the subscription list of the *Episcopal Watchman* when that periodical was discontinued in 1834, and had a considerable following throughout New England, the Churchmen of Connecticut, where Episcopal Church journalism had had its origin, felt the need of a weekly periodical of their own. Accordingly, in January, 1837, the first issue of the *Chronicle of the Church* was published at New Haven. This periodical had the distinction of being the first weekly of general circulation in the Episcopal Church to have a layman as its editor,⁵⁷ but a year later he was ordained. Dr. Beardsley⁵⁸ wrote of him:

⁵⁵*Banner of the Church*, March 17, 1832, p. 115.

⁵⁶*Episcopal Recorder*, December 8, 1832, p. 142.

⁵⁷*The Layman's Magazine of Martinsburg, Va.*, was edited by a layman as well as for laymen, as we have seen, but its circulation was local.

⁵⁸*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 318 Note.

"Alonzo B. Chapin, Esq., [was] the son of a Congregational minister, and educated for the legal profession. He read himself into the Episcopal Church, and, becoming a candidate for Holy Orders, was ordained a deacon in 1838. He was a student of remarkable industry, and stored his mind with a fund of varied knowledge, some of which he put forth in the shape of pamphlets, reviews, and books, that gained for him a wide reputation among Churchmen. He was too rapid a writer to be always accurate, and more care and scholarship would have added to the value of his historical publications."

However, this ability to write rapidly must have assisted Chapin materially in editing a weekly paper.

Of the *Chronicle of the Church*, Dr. Beardsley wrote:⁵⁹

"It was an inauspicious time to begin an enterprise of this sort, for the embarrassments in the commercial world were great, and there was much derangement in the currency of the country. But, with liberal promises in the outset, and a partial indorsement of the object by the Convention of the Diocese, the paper, the first number of which was issued at New Haven, Epiphany, 1837, soon attained a fair circulation, and was continued under the charge of its original editor for eight years, when it was removed to Hartford, and merged in the *Calendar*."

This combined volume was continued after 1840 as the *Practical Christian and Church Chronicle*. It was succeeded in 1845 by the *Calendar*, published at Hartford, Conn. This in turn became the *Connecticut Churchman*, and finally in 1865 merged with the *Churchman*.⁶⁰

⁵⁹*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 319. *The panic of 1837 was one of the worst this Country ever experienced.*

⁶⁰Beardsley, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 319.

CHAPTER V

MONTHLIES; QUARTERLIES; CHILDREN'S MAGAZINES

1. EPISCOPAL MAGAZINE (1820-1821)

IN January, 1820, there appeared the first number of the *Episcopal Magazine*, published in Philadelphia by S. Potter & Co.¹ The first issue consisted of 36 pages octavo. This was a monthly periodical devoting a considerable amount of space to the record of the progress of the Episcopal Church in Philadelphia and other parts of Pennsylvania.

The first issue of the *Episcopal Magazine* began with two essays, "Designed Especially for the Perusal of Students in Theology." The first of these dealt with the terms Sacrifice, Altar, and Priest, and was signed with the initials W. W.² The second entitled "Theological Disquisitions," signed C. B., dealt with the subject of Christian Evidences. There followed an historical article entitled "Some Particulars Relating to the Commencement and Progress of the Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania." Other historical articles, biographical sketches, extracts from letters and the like, mostly taken from British periodicals, made up the balance of the issue, with the exception of three pages which were given over to "Domestic Intelligence."

Apparently it was originally intended that this first issue should consist of 32 pages, for on page 32 there is the following note to correspondents: "The obituary notice of the Rev. Thomas P. May was received too late for this number but shall appear in the next." However, page 33 begins with the following note:

"The Publishers of the *Magazine* having suggested the idea of printing four additional pages to the present number, the Editors avail themselves of the opportunity to publish the obituary notice of the Rev. Mr. May, referred to in the note to correspondents; and also some very late intelligence, received through the politeness of R. Ralston, esq., from the last Monthly Extracts of the British and Foreign Bible Society, published in London on the 30th of November, 1818."

¹*Episcopal Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 1, January, 1820.

²This was undoubtedly Bishop William White, and the essay, with others from the *Episcopal Magazine*, is listed in the bibliography of Bishop White's work in *Stowe, Life and Letters of Bishop William White*, p. 290.

In addition to the obituary of Mr. May, an article on Bible Societies and some extracts from foreign letters filled out the extra three pages.

The second number of the *Episcopal Magazine*^a was introduced with a frontispiece portrait of Bishop White who apparently was the patron of the magazine. The initials of Bishop White appear frequently in a number of the issues.

The subscription price of the *Episcopal Magazine* was \$2.50 a year. The magazine continued for only two years, the last number being that of December, 1821. The last issue contained a notice that the publication of the *Episcopal Magazine* would be discontinued, adding:

"With what ability it has been conducted and with what regularity received, our subscribers are alone to determine. We can assure them, however, that no exertions have been wanting on our part to publish and forward it with the utmost punctuality, and if delays have occurred in the reception of the work, it has been through the medium of post offices, and wholly beyond our control.

"The terms which were published with the first number of the *Episcopal Magazine*, stated that the subscriptions would fall due, on the first of June in each year. Such as have promptly complied with those terms, are entitled to our warmest thanks; and, while we with pleasure acknowledge the receipt of sums of money from others, on account of the work, and respectfully request a remittance of the balance due, we would beg leave to remind those who have remained totally indifferent to it by neglecting to make payment, although often solicited, that its failure is entirely attributed to them; for by a reference to the unsettled accounts of the *Episcopal Magazine*, it is found, that rising \$1,200, in small sums, from \$2.50 to \$5.00 are still due the publishers; who, after having laboured to establish the work for two successive years, and been the losers to a very considerable amount, are now reluctantly compelled to relinquish it, for want of support. It is sincerely to be hoped the above statement will induce every person indebted to us on account of the *Magazine*, to make immediate payment, by which they will serve the cause of Justice, and confer an especial favour on the publishers."

The *Episcopal Magazine* was rather a "heavy" publication and it is likely that it never had a very wide circulation. In the last issue the publishers advertised that they would take subscriptions for the other existing Church papers, namely, the *Theological Repertory*, published at Washington, D. C.; *Churchman's Magazine*, New Haven; *Gospel Advocate*, Boston; and the *Christian Journal*, New York.

^a*Episcopal Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 2, February, 1820.

2. THE CHURCHMAN'S REPOSITORY FOR THE EASTERN DIOCESS (1820)

The *Churchman's Repository for the Eastern Diocess* published its first number at Newburyport, Massachusetts, in July, 1820, in 32 page octavo form.⁴ Editors were the Rev. James Morse of Newburyport, the Rev. Asa Eaton of Boston, the Rev. Charles Burroughs of Portsmouth, and the Rev. Thomas Carlisle, of Salem.⁵ The *Churchman's Repository* had a brief life, being discontinued at the end of 1820, in favor of the enlarged monthly publication, the *Gospel Advocate*.

3. GOSPEL ADVOCATE (1821-1826)

The *Gospel Advocate* was a monthly periodical ranging in size from 32 to 40 pages octavo published at Newburyport, Massachusetts, beginning with the issue of January, 1821. The prospectus in the first issue⁶ began with a lengthy justification of the name of the periodical, tracing the word "Gospel" to its Saxon derivation from the words "God" meaning "Good" and "spel" "a message." An essay on the New Year, a transcript of Bishop Alexander Griswold's address to the biennial convention of the Eastern Diocese, an article by a Vermont clergyman on attendance at public worship, a sermon, and a department of religious intelligence together with a miscellany consisting of quotations from other periodicals made up the bulk of the first issue.

The *Gospel Advocate* was a continuation of the *Churchman's Repository for the Eastern Diocess* which had issued its first number at Newburyport in July, 1820, and appeared monthly for the balance of that year. While the *Gospel Advocate* did not continue the numbering of the *Churchman's Repository* it did continue a serial article entitled *Remarks on Baptism*, begun in the earlier publication.⁷

The title page of the *Gospel Advocate* gave the information that it was "conducted by a society of gentlemen." Bishop Griswold and ten of the clergy of the Eastern Diocese signed a recommendation of the new periodical⁸ in which they stated:

"Being persuaded that it will be devoted to the promotion of good morals, and of pure and undefiled religion; and that such a work is highly necessary at the present time, it is our desire that it may obtain extensive circulation."

⁴*The Churchman's Repository for the Eastern Dioceses, Vol. I, No. 1, July, 1820.*

⁵Quoted by Brewer, *Religious Education in the Episcopal Church*, p. 280, from *Episcopal Magazine*, September, 1820, p. 289.

⁶*Gospel Advocate, Vol. I, No. 1, January, 1821.*

⁷*Gospel Advocate, January, 1821, p. 25.*

⁸*Gospel Advocate, January, 1821, p. 36.*

At the end of the first year of publication the editors wrote: "In taking a retrospective view of what they have done, the conductors are cheered by the hope that their labour has not been altogether in vain."⁹ At the same time the patrons appealed for more subscriptions, stating that "hitherto the patronage offered to it has not been sufficient to defray all the expenses of publication." They also appealed for further literary contributions from the clergy of the five states making up the Eastern Diocese.

For two years the *Gospel Advocate* was faced with financial difficulties, but thereafter, though the editors wrote that "the patronage bestowed upon it has not been bountiful and it has increased in reputation more than emolument,"¹⁰ nevertheless it was self-supporting. The editors wrote that they are chiefly indebted to the clergy and laity of Massachusetts for support of the publication, having received almost nothing from Rhode Island and the other New England states. They have, however, received some support from outside of New England, notably in South Carolina, and for this they are grateful; they have become involved in controversy with various clergymen over the subject of "lay exhortation" which they had opposed vigorously; they requested more support in order that the *Gospel Advocate* might continue to serve the Church, particularly in New England.

Beginning with the year 1822 the *Gospel Advocate* was published in Boston, at first by Joseph W. Ingraham and later by True and Greene. The editors frequently complained about "the discouraging circumstances which have arisen in the course of our editorial labors,"¹¹ these being presumably the controversies in which they had become involved and the lack of the support to which they felt they were entitled.

The *Gospel Advocate* continued until December, 1826, and at the time of its discontinuance it turned over its subscription list to the *Episcopal Watchman*.¹²

4. GOSPEL MESSENGER AND SOUTHERN EPISCOPAL REGISTER (1824-1853)

The *Gospel Messenger and Southern Episcopal Register*¹³ was published at Charleston, South Carolina, and was for many years the most influential publication of the Episcopal Church in the South. Its first

⁹*Gospel Advocate*, Preface to Vol. I.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, January, 1825, p. 1.

¹¹*Gospel Advocate*, Preface to Vol. 5.

¹²*Ibid.*, December, 1826, p. 490.

¹³The subtitle varied, the word "Christian" sometimes appearing instead of "Southern."

issue was dated January, 1824, and thereafter the *Messenger* was issued monthly in 32 page octavo format, the subscription price being \$3.00 a year. The contents of a typical issue were as follows:

Sermon on "I was glad when they said unto me, 'we will go into the House of the Lord,'" by a Layman (nearly seventy years old).

"The Revised Canons," an article signed "Hooker."

"Present Wants of the Church," by "Heber."

"Constitution and Canons of the P. E. Church."

"On Episcopal Resignations."

"Efficacy and Success of Religion not Spontaneous," from *Theological Quarterly Review of Dr. Chalmers on Endowments*.

"The Times," taken from *The Churchman*.

"On Protracted Meetings," from the *Auburn Gospel Messenger*.

"On Improving Theology," copied from the same source.

"On Repeating Aloud the Responses of the Liturgy," from the *Christian Guardian*.

"Temperance," a letter by William Wirt.

"List of Books Recommended to Theological Students by the Bishop of London."

"Hymn to the Holy Spirit" (contributed).

Two poems, one on "Bishop Ken," and the other, "The Church Catechism Versified."

"Religious Intelligence," under which general head were paragraphs about *A Lecture by Chief Justice Pinckney, Confirmation at Beaufort and St. Helena Island, The Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina, General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and Sunday School Union*.

"New Publications," under which head there were reviews of *Divine Songs*, etc., by J. Watts: *Statement of the Case of Bishop Provoost*; and *Theological Common Place Book*.

"Obituary Notices."

"Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina" (Report of).

"Episcopal Acts" (Ordinations).

"Calendar" for June.

"Erratum."

Reviewing the *Gospel Messenger* in its fourth year, a contemporary¹⁴ noted that it "is conducted by members of the Episcopal Church in Charleston, S. C., and is said to be the only religious magazine published south of Richmond. As it has been inadequately supported during the past year, a change has been made in the method of conducting it, which

¹⁴The *Episcopal Watchman*, March 26, 1827, pp. 6-7.

we trust will ensure it a circulation more commensurate with its merits. . . . The above publication must not be identified with a weekly sheet which has recently made its appearance in Auburn (N. Y.) with the same name and with similar objects.¹⁵ . . . It is to be regretted that, for purposes of discrimination, a different title had not been adopted" [by the Auburn periodical].

The *Gospel Messenger and Southern Episcopal Register* continued, despite frequent financial troubles, through twenty-nine volumes, coming to an end apparently in 1853.¹⁶

5. PROTESTANT EPISCOPALIAN AND CHURCH REGISTER (1830-1838)

In February, 1830, a circular sent to the clergy and many of the leaders of the Episcopal Church announced the intention of two Philadelphia clergymen, Edward Rutledge and Francis L. Hawks, to gather together and publish in periodical form the historical records of the Church. They accompanied this announcement with a questionnaire in regard to the parish and diocesan history of the recipients and a certificate of approbation signed by Bishops White of Pennsylvania and H. U. Onderdonk, his assistant.

This notice was followed shortly by the issue of the first number of the *Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register*, the successor to the *Church Register*.

In its introduction the *Protestant Episcopalian* stated:

"The editors of the late *Church Register*, the existence of which terminated at the close of the year that has just expired, intended, until within a few days past, to continue its circulation, being fully persuaded of the utility of a periodical, which would serve as a means of extending correct views of the Church, of defending her against the assaults of her enemies, and of conveying to her members information concerning her movements. Circumstances, however, occurred which led to an alteration of the plan on which the editors have hitherto proceeded, and after mature deliberation, it was resolved to drop the weekly paper, and establish the Monthly Magazine, which is now to go forth and seek the patronage of the Church. It is not deemed necessary to enumerate, *in extenso*, the reasons which have conduced to this alteration in our design, or the advantages, which, it is hoped, will result therefrom; but it may be proper to remark, that we experienced difficulties in conducting a weekly paper, in such a manner as to subserve the

¹⁵See above, pp. 240-245.

¹⁶The General Theological Seminary Library has a file of these 29 volumes, which are valuable for Southern Church history in this pre-Civil War period.

great interests of the Church, to the extent which was desirable; that extended discussions, which were calculated to enforce or elicit truth, were necessarily excluded from its pages, and that oftentimes in the hasty preparation of articles, incident to such publications, remarks have been offered and concessions made, which more mature deliberation would have held back."¹⁷

In short, it was apparently felt by the editors that once a week was too frequent for the publication of thoughtful Church material and that a 40-page monthly periodical would be more satisfactory for this purpose.

The *Protestant Episcopalian*, despite the Protestant character of its name, was a high church or Anglo-Catholic organ devoted to the principle that "Peace is purchased at too dear a rate when the price for it is surrender of principle." The subscription price was \$2.50 a year. Among the members of the editorial board at its outset was Jackson Kemper, soon to become the first missionary bishop of the Church.

The *Protestant Episcopalian* continued for a number of years. As an example of its nature the contents of one issue were as follows:¹⁸

Stephen—A five page article on the first martyr.

The Church—An unsigned poem quoted from the *Churchman*.

Twilight Fancies—Another unsigned poem, quoted from the *Connecticut Observer*.

Secrets of Confessions made to the Clergy—A discussion of the Civil Law regarding privileges of the clergy as to information gained in the Confessional.

No Union Without Agreement—A long discussion of Church relations quoted from a letter in the *Churchman*.

The Rock of the Church—An interpretation of the text "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church" and the claims of the Roman Catholic Church.

Several other short poems.

Time of the Last Passover—Quoted from the *Sunday School Journal*.

Roman Customs, quoted from the *Sunday School Journal*.

The Inquisition—A study of the various tortures of the Inquisition, and the number of persons executed, attributed to "Dr. Brownlee."

Spiritual Counsel—An Original article of eight pages.

Hints to Clergymen—From the *Christian Watchman*.

Forms of Prayer and Prayers from the Jewish Liturgy—An original article.

¹⁷*Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register*, January, 1830, p. 1.

¹⁸*Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 5, No. 4, April, 1834.

The Protestant Episcopal Female Tract Society—A letter to the Editor, containing extracts from Bishop Doane's sermon on this subject.

Death of the Rev. Dr. Montgomery—An obituary notice and accompanying service.

Address of the Bishop White Prayer Book Society.

Intelligence—A page chronicling ordinations, clerical changes, corner stone layings, etc.

In 1835 the editorial staff of the *Protestant Episcopalian* was enlarged and its objects restated as follows:¹⁹

"This Journal, first published under the name of the *Church Register*, has been established for six years. In entering on the seventh year of its honorable career, the editors make the following announcement to their patrons, by which it will be seen that the journal promises to be conducted with increased interest and ability.

"We have the pleasure of announcing to our readers that the 'Editorial Association' has just been enlarged, and the publication will in future be issued under the care generally of the following clergymen: Bishop H. U. Onderdonk, Rev. Dr. DeLancey, Rev. Mr. James, Rev. Mr. Morton, Rev. Mr. Cruse, Rev. Dr. Mead, Rev. Dr. Ducachet, Rev. Mr. Boyd, Rev. Mr. McCoskry, Rev. Mr. Sudders, and Rev. Mr. Clemson. With this accession we hope to proceed with renewed vigor.

"Our object, in conducting this periodical, is to present to the public such substantial articles on matters of doctrine and practice, as may be furnished by correspondents; and, as occasion may require, to offer to the episcopal public disquisitions and suggestions concerning the affairs and interests of the Church. In this department, we address the intelligent and reflecting of our communion; and we hope that the columns of the *Protestant Episcopalian* may be a means of improvement both to the writers and the readers. In the department of intelligence, the weekly papers have the advantage of us, they appearing four times to our once; of such matters, therefore, this work is more generally a record, than a vehicle of fresh news. Such a publication in its more important feature is, we think, required by the Church, and will, we hope, receive its continued and increasing support. The publisher desires us to say that the payment of arrears is always acceptable."

The issue of January, 1838, was the first issue of Vol. 9. The December issue in the same year was the last, and effected a transition between this publication which was being discontinued and the *Banner*

¹⁹From an advertisement in the *Churchman*, Vol. 5, 1835, p. 986.

of the Cross which was scheduled for publication in the first or second week of January, 1839. In an editorial²⁰ the editors announce "that the present will be the last number of the *Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register*." They add:

"It terminates the thirteenth year of its existence, during the greater portion of which the work has been gratuitously edited by an Association of Clergymen, looking to no other reward for their labors than the consciousness of aiming to promote the welfare of the Church and of man and finding in the delights of fraternal association ample compensation for all the trouble involved in conducting the paper. It is an anomaly we believe in the history of periodicals that we leave the world entirely out of debt, and through our publisher actually making a bequest to the Prayer Book Society of about \$100 in cash, and a couple of hundred in credits."

This was indeed a unique record in the history of journalism in the Episcopal Church.

In the same editorial the editors took occasion to discuss the contemporary journalistic situation in the Church and particularly in Pennsylvania. They pointed out that the columns of the *Protestant Episcopalian* had been remarkable free of "the intemperate clamorous and denunciatory" and especially of that controversy and "spirit of strife and contention" which had been "so authoritatively and deservedly rebuked in the Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops, as a frequent characteristic of our religious journals."²¹

²⁰*Protestant Episcopalian*, December, 1838, p. 472.

²¹The Pastoral Letter issued by the House of Bishops in 1836 was written by Bishop Griswold of the Eastern Diocese. In it appeared the following paragraph on the Church press (*Swords, Stanford & Co.*, 1838, pp. 14-15):

"While speaking on the subject of Christian unity, permit us to observe that your Bishops have noticed, with painful concern, that our religious journals, which ought to be to our Churches as messengers of peace on earth and good will towards men, diffusing among our people the knowledge of Christ and the love of God, are too much filled with unprofitable controversy; and, what is worse, that they not unfrequently manifest a spirit of strife and contention, inconsistent with brotherly kindness and Christian love. It is an evil which in the judgment of some, more than balances all the good which those journals effect. It is injurious to the cause of religion, and to our Church especially, causing us to appear before the world, as what we certainly are not, a divided Church. In no other way is the bond of Charity oftener broken, and unity disturbed, than by judging illiberally of the tenets and practice of others. This is now the way in which the spirit of persecution chiefly operates. It is happily, in a great degree, disarmed of its tortures and flames; but in slanders, and hatred and malice and all uncharitableness, it still exists. From which let us pray in our hearts, as with our lips we do, that the Lord will deliver us. If we have occasion, which we should never seek, to speak of the errors or failings of any Christians, meekness, humility and compassion should possess our hearts. Ascribing the cause and blame of schisms or disunion to others, is more likely to increase than to diminish the evil; it is far better to give them good examples of unity and peace."

No such claim, the editors felt, could be made for the other Church paper published in the same state, the *Episcopal Recorder*. They said:

"We desire to speak respectfully and kindly on this topic but with brotherly frankness and good temper, when we say that, as matter of fact, the *Episcopal Recorder* is not the representative, certainly not the authorized exponent, of the views, feelings, tastes, or tempers of the Protestant Episcopalians of this diocese."

Accordingly they announced their intention of converting the *Protestant Episcopalian* into a weekly periodical to give the people of the Church the kind of weekly that they felt should be published. This paper they announced would be the *Banner of the Cross* and would be sent to all subscribers as a matter of course, "to whose patronage and active interest we cordially commend it. Price \$2.50 in advance or \$3.00 if payment is delayed until after the first of June."

6. GAMBIER OBSERVER and Its Successors (1830-1842).

The first Church paper published in the Middle West was the *Gambier Observer*. The initial issue was published by the Acland Press, Gambier, Ohio, under date of May 28, 1830.²² Its story is an interesting and romantic one.

The founder and sponsor of the *Gambier Observer* was Philander Chase, the first bishop of Ohio and later of Illinois. A native of New Hampshire, Chase began his ministry as an itinerant missionary in Western New York, but in 1805 went to the far south where, on the recommendation of Hobart, he became the first rector of Christ Church, New Orleans.²³ We have already met him there as an agent in that remote outpost for the *Churchman's Magazine*.²⁴ Forced to return North on account of ill health in 1811, Chase became rector of Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut, but in 1817 the missionary urge came upon him again and he went to Ohio at his own expense, being the second priest of the Episcopal Church to work in that state. A year later the diocese of Ohio was organized and Chase was elected bishop.

Bishop Chase was a great believer in the efficacy of two types of religious education—the Church college and the Church periodical. With

²²Smythe, George F., *History of the Diocese of Ohio*, p. 550. Privately printed, 1931.

²³Manross, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

²⁴See *supra*, p. 214.

help obtained from England, therefore, he early established Kenyon College. As early as 1823 he wrote Bishop White: "A printing press and types will be solicited and the young men or some proper portion of them will, at convenient hours of the day, be employed in printing tracts and a periodical publication." The purchase of the printing press was made possible by a gift of Sir Thomas Acland, and in 1825 the press was set up.²⁵

A prospectus for a periodical to be entitled the *Christian Star in the West* or the *Moral and Theological Repository of the Diocese of Ohio* was prepared in 1823 with the provision that it would be established when 500 subscribers were assured at \$2.00 a year.²⁶ However, the first number did not appear until 1830 when an 8-page paper about 14x10 inches in size, with three columns to the page, was published with the title, *The Gambier Observer: Devoted to the Interests of Religion in the Protestant Episcopal Church*. The heading contained a picture of Kenyon College as it was to look when completed.²⁷ The first editor of the *Observer* was Prof. William Sparrow of Kenyon College, but he early gave up this work, and from 1831 to 1834 Prof. M. T. C. Wing was the editor.²⁸

But the *Gambier Observer* appeared at a singularly unfortunate time, for it coincided with the beginning of a controversy between Bishop Chase and the faculty of the college. The second number, therefore, was not published until August 3rd, but thereafter it appeared with a fair degree of regularity.

At first financed by Kenyon College, the *Gambier Observer* shortly became the responsibility of a private stock company under the name of the Western Protestant Episcopal Press which, however, failed after two years when the paper announced that it had "passed into the hands of a few individuals." Beginning with Volume 8 in 1837, the name was expanded to *Gambier Observer and Western Church Journal*, its size having been increased to folio but with only four pages to a number.²⁹ A year later the Rev. Dr. Chauncey Colton, a professor in the Seminary, became editor and proprietor. He removed the paper to Cincinnati in 1840 and changed its name to *Western Episcopal Observer*, following out his plan of making it a general Church periodical for the Church in the West. Dr. Smythe says:³⁰ "It was much better than it had ever been before and contained a much larger proportion than

²⁵Chase, Philander, *Reminiscences*. Dow, Boston, 1847. Vol. I, p. 201.

²⁶Smythe, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

²⁷Smythe, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

²⁸Quoted by Brewer, *History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church*, from Walker, *Life of William Sparrow*, p. 87.

²⁹Smythe, *op. cit.*, 551.

³⁰*Op. cit.*, p. 551.

formerly of reading matter that might conceivably interest a human mind; for it must be admitted that aside from its invaluable diocesan and college news the *Gambier Observer* had been very dull." However, after various reverses and changes in size, the *Western Episcopal Observer* came to an end in the fall of 1842.³¹

A similar periodical, the *Western Episcopalian*, was begun in August, 1843, and continued with various changes in editorship, ownership, name and frequency of publication until 1868, when it was succeeded by the *Standard of the Cross*, a weekly periodical that was later to obtain a considerable measure of influence in the Church. This periodical, however, belongs to a later period than that with which this study is concerned.

7. NEW YORK REVIEW AND QUARTERLY CHURCH JOURNAL (1837-1842)

The *New York Review* was a quarterly periodical, edited by a well known clergyman of the Episcopal Church, the Rev. F. L. Hawks, but was not, strictly speaking, a periodical of the Episcopal Church.³² It was rather in the nature of a general review written from the standpoint of Christianity, as will be seen by the articles that made up the first issues. These were:³³

"The subjects of the several articles are, character of Mr. Jefferson, Utilitarianism, Cox's Life of Fletcher, of Madely, Crabbe, Affiliation of Languages, Chalmer's Natural Theology, Study of Works of Genius, Pastoral Visiting, Mrs. Newmans, Discoveries of Light and Vision, Combo's Moral Philosophy, Religious Opinions of Washington, and Analytical and Critical Notices."

The *Churchman* welcomed the *New York Review*, stating:³⁴

"We have waited with impatience for the publication of the first number of this promising work and now greet its appearance with a cordial welcome and in full conviction that its living form will disappoint no reasonable expectations which were formed of it in embryo state. The mechanical execution is highly respectable, and saving a few errors, *Ques incuria fudit humana*, has nothing to offend, but much to gratify the

³¹Dr. Smythe says, p. 551, that "Dr. Colton became involved in financial troubles."

³²It is not listed as one of the "Periodical Publications Conducted on the Principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church" in the issues of the *Church Almanac* for the years during which the *New York Review* was published.

³³Summarized in clipping from the *Churchman* in Chorley's collection.

³⁴1837 clipping in Chorley's collection.

most fastidious taste. Of its twelve articles more than half are of a high intellectual character, while all breathe that noble and generous spirit which is so much needed to purify the literature, religion, and politics for our country."

After the first issue in March, 1837, financial difficulties incident to the panic of that year were encountered and the second issue was not published until October. Shortly before that time the publishers, George Dearborn & Co., 38 Gold Street, New York, issued a circular³⁵ as follows:

"The subscribers have the pleasure of announcing to the public that they have assumed the publication of this journal, of which the first number was issued in March last. The difficulties of the times occasioned a temporary suspension of the work, but the arrangements that have now been made will insure for the future its regular publication; the second number will appear on the first of October, and punctually thereafter every quarter. The work will continue under the editorial charge of Professor C. S. Henry, assisted by the contributions of the ablest writers of the country; and from the great favor with which the first number was received, and the interest so extensively manifested in the work, the publishers anticipated a generous support. Subscriptions respectfully solicited."

An added note by the proprietor³⁶ said:

"The friends of the Church and of a sound national literature, who are disposed to favor an undertaking, commenced, indeed at an inauspicious moment, but by the generous advances of pecuniary assistance on the part of several gentlemen who appreciate its importance, now enabled to be carried on, are earnestly requested to contribute their assistance to the success of the experiment by subscribing for the *Review* themselves, and extending its circulation in their vicinity. The terms are \$5 per annum, payable on delivery of the first number."

The *New York Review* continued until 1842.³⁷

8. OTHER MONTHLY AND QUARTERLY PUBLICATIONS

A number of other monthly and quarterly periodicals were published in the 1820's and 1830's, most of them being of local importance only. Among them may be mentioned the following:

³⁵Quoted in the *Churchman* in a clipping included in the Chorley collection.

³⁶Given in the same clipping from the *Churchman*.

³⁷*Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church, Volume V (September, 1936), p. 230.*

The *Episcopal Register* was published from 1826 to 1829, at Middlebury, Vermont. Its aim was "to place a monthly collection of religious matter, consecrated to the service of episcopacy and the Gospel within the reach of everyone who feels any interest in the progressive improvement, and dissemination, or both, of either of these causes."³⁸ The editor was the Rev. B. B. Smith of Middlebury, and the subscription price was \$1.00 a year. The circulation of the *Episcopal Register* appears to have been very small and was probably mostly confined to the state of Vermont.

The *Episcopal Sunday School Magazine* was a little eight page magazine issued in the summer of 1827 by the Rev. Lewis P. Bayard of New York. Only one issue of this periodical is in existence and it is doubtful if others were issued.

The *Christian Warrior* began in January, 1828, in Philadelphia. The editor was the Rev. Benjamin Allen, who formerly, before his ordination, had founded and edited the *Layman's Magazine*.³⁹ This was to be a 16-page weekly, but soon became a monthly periodical, its name being changed to the *Christian Magazine*. This change was consequent upon the purchase of the subscription list of the American edition of the *London Christian Review and Clerical Magazine*.⁴⁰

The following extract from the editorial in the second number gives the views of the editor:

"The Editor of this publication feels that he is called upon to say something concerning his views, and the principles by which he expects to be governed. They are then, in general, the principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church. A minister of that Church, he loves her doctrines and her views of polity."—"He resolves to set forth precisely the views of polity advocated by Bishop White in his pamphlet of '83, and again declared as held by him in 1820: Those views which have promoted the moderation of his long career, and still permit him to preside over the oldest of American Bible Societies—those messengers of God. He holds the doctrine of the sovereignty of the Most High, and the free agency of man."—"If he were to select any human work which expresses most completely his views of doctrine, that work would be the CHRISTIAN OBSERVER. Prayer-meetings, as recently advocated by the Bishop of the land of his fathers—Bishop Griswold—whose apology, or rather whose defence of prayer-meetings, it is his design to have stereotyped—he believes are nurseries for Heaven. Bishop Burnet, in his History of his own times, informs him, that in prayer-meetings

³⁸*Episcopal Register*, Vol. I, No. 1, January, 1826.

³⁹See Chapter IV, *supra*.

⁴⁰*Memoir of the Rev. Benjamin Allen*, pp. 362 ff.

were born societies which have, for now more than a century, run their active course—one of which, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, planted the Episcopal Church in America.

"Revivals of religion he prays may abound, until all Laodiceans are renewed in the spirit of their mind."

In March, 1828, the Rev. Benjamin Allen sailed for England, leaving the running of the *Christian Magazine* to his brother, the Rev. Thomas G. Allen. Subsequent issues contained some interesting accounts of Benjamin Allen's travels, received from him by mail. These accounts, supplemented by the extracts from his journal published in his *Memoir*, give an interesting picture of the Church of England in 1828, as seen through the eyes of an American clergyman.

Benjamin Allen was taken ill in England. He died on the return voyage, on January 13, 1829, and was buried at sea the following day. The *Christian Magazine* was discontinued shortly thereafter. Dr. Brewer describes the *Magazine* as a "militant Low Church publication." Its chief value is the record of intercourse between the Churches in England and America, on which it throws some light.

The *American Pulpit*, beginning at Boston in 1831, and continuing the following year in New York where it changed its name to the *Protestant Episcopal Pulpit*, was a monthly sermon magazine, consisting for the most part of *verbatim* copies of sermons printed by Church leaders. The more important of these had their own title pages and perhaps were reprinted separately from the magazine. Most of the leading bishops and prominent preachers of the day were represented in its columns at one time or another. Many of the sermons were very long, in the fashion of the day. It is interesting to notice that many of them were concerned with matters that were later to be dealt with by the Oxford Movement in England and America. There is, for example, in 1834, a sermon at the consecration of Bishop James Hervey Otey of Tennessee by Bishop George Washington Doane, in which the Catholic doctrine of the office of a bishop is set forth. Another sermon on the use of holy garments in 1834 advocates the use of the surplice in Church services.⁴¹ The *Protestant Episcopal Pulpit* was discontinued in 1836, after the death of its publisher, John Moore.

The *Missionary* was a little periodical issued at Burlington, New Jersey, from September, 1834, to December, 1837, under the patronage

⁴¹It is impossible to give page references for these sermons as it was customary for each sermon to carry its own page numbers.

and editorship of Bishop George Washington Doane. Its stated object is given as follows:⁴²

"The *Missionary* is sent forth to preach the Gospel. Its continued aim will be to turn sinners to righteousness, and 'to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.' As the only means by which so great an end can be accomplished, it will set forth 'The Cross of the Lord Jesus Christ'—'the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world,' lifted up from the earth that he may draw all men unto him. Man lost—God incarnate for his recovery—'Christ crucified' the price of his restoration—justification by faith,—faith working by love,—love purifying the heart,—salvation wholly by grace,—the grace which produces salvation for the sinner, preparing him by newness and holiness of life for its enjoyment,—such, in broad outline, is that 'faith of the gospel' which the *Missionary* will preach.

"Subsidiary, but not separable from the Cross, it will set up the Church, the body of the Lord Jesus, 'the pillar and ground of truth,' the fold and the flock of God, 'which he hath purchased with his own blood.' Its ministers, its sacraments, its worship—the appointment of the Lord, the means of grace, the instruments of the Divine Spirit to the Sanctification of the soul, the *Missionary* will constantly set forth as 'worthy of all men to be received.' Its speech will thus be, like the Apostle Paul's, 'concerning Christ and the Church;' and the subject of its mission may be stated in these few familiar words, 'EVANGELICAL TRUTH: APOSTOLIC ORDER.'"

Although it was short-lived, the *Missionary* is valuable to historians, as it is one of the most important sources for the historic General Convention of 1835, which was reported in its columns by Bishop Doane. There is also a valuable account, by Bishop Doane, of the last illness and death of Bishop White.⁴³

Another short-lived periodical at this time was the *Church Advocate*, published at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1835 and 1836, as the private venture of a prominent layman, Dr. John E. Cook. It was a folio monthly publication, with a subscription price of \$1.50 a year.⁴⁴

The national organization for promoting the missionary work of the Church was known as the "Domestic and Foreign Missionary

⁴²Quoted in the *Churchman*, Vol. IV, pp. 734-735.

⁴³This periodical, a bound volume of which is in the General Theological Seminary library, was used as source material by Drs. Hardy and Stowe for new material on the 1835 General Convention published in the Bishop Kemper Number of the *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, September, 1935 (Volume IV, 152-179, 195-218).

⁴⁴Brewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-299.

Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." It was organized in 1820 and its records were kept in a volume called *Proceedings of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*. While this was not strictly speaking a Church periodical it is important to the history of religious journalism inasmuch as it was a predecessor of the *Spirit of Missions*. Its first volume was dated 1823 and carried the records from the formation of the Society to the General Convention held in Philadelphia in May, 1823.

A quarterly periodical was begun by the Board of Missions in March, 1828, under the title *Quarterly Papers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church*. The history of this publication, which was another forerunner of the *Spirit of Missions*, is described by Dr. Brewer as follows:⁴⁵

"Numbers for March, June, September and December, 1828, and for July, 1829, appeared; then there was a gap until March, 1830, when the Society's *Missionary Paper*, numbered and paged continuously with these five *Quarterly Papers*, continued the work of spreading missionary news. After the issues for June and September, there was another interruption. In March, 1831, began the Society's third attempt at systematic publication of news of omission work; in that month the *Periodical Paper* came out. Under this name and with a new serial numbering, nine issues appeared before the end of the year 1832. In January, 1833, and thereafter until 1836, the *Missionary Record* was the Society's monthly organ of communication. It cost a dollar a year, sixteen octavo pages each issue. In January, 1836, the *Record* was replaced by the *Spirit of Missions*."⁴⁶

Other monthlies and quarterlies, mostly of local interest and having a small following, were:

American Biblical Repository, published from 1831 to 1844.

American Quarterly Observer, 1833 to 1834. The editor was R. B. Edwards, and in January, 1835, it was merged into the *Biblical Repository*.

Christian Library, 1834-1835. This was a folio publication published in New York, and contained reprints of articles.

⁴⁵Brewer, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁴⁶See chapter VIII.

Episcopalian, 1837, Columbia, Tenn.⁴⁷

Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal. This was a monthly published in New York from 1828 to 1834, of which the Rev. Absalom Peters was editor.

Literary and Theological Review, 1834-1839, published in New York and Boston. L. Woods, Jr., was editor from 1834 to 1837, and C. D. Pigeon was editor from 1838-1839.

The Manuscript, 1827-1828.

Religious Magazine, 1828-1830. Published in Philadelphia by E. Littell.

9. CHILDREN'S MAGAZINES

The Gospel Messenger (Auburn, New York) of January 24, 1829, says:

"We lately gave a brief notice of the *Family Visitor and Sunday School Magazine*, and we have received the first number of the *Children's Magazine*, both of them publications under the management of the executive committee of the Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union. The work first mentioned is published in New-York, once a fortnight, at one dollar per annum, payable in advance. The *Children's Magazine* is published monthly, in 24 pages 18mo at the very cheap rate of *twenty-five cents per annum*, payable in advance. These works, judging from the specimens before us, and from the assiduity and talents of the gentlemen who are immediately engaged, promise much interest to the teachers and pupils. The *Children's Magazine* appears to be very happily designed to engage the attention of young minds as soon as they are able to read."

The *Children's Guide* was another children's magazine, which

⁴⁷Probably this periodical was merely projected and never actually published. A note in an 1837 issue of the *Episcopal Recorder* (exact date unknown; quoted from a clipping in Dr. Chorley's collection) says: "The *Episcopalian*—We learn that a new paper under this title is to be published at Columbia, Tennessee, to be devoted, of course, as its title implies, to the interests of religion in connexion with the Episcopal Church. We obtain this information from our exchange papers, not having seen a copy of the western periodical itself. There is certainly abundant room in the western and southwestern portions of our country for the circulation of such a paper. We hope that it may be the means of impressing upon multitudes the saving truths of the gospel." A letter from the Rev. George Weller to Bishop White, written from Tennessee (now in the library of the Church Historical Society) says that the statement in some of the Eastern Church papers that this periodical had been established was premature, as he had not yet done so, although he had contemplated it. In 1838 Weller moved from Nashville to Memphis, and in 1839 to Vicksburg, Mississippi. It is more than probable that the periodical was never started.

seems to have been started in the autumn of 1834. Of these two magazines Brewer says:⁴⁸

"Two magazines for children were in existence at the opening of the year 1835, the *Children's Magazine* and the *Children's Guide*. The former was published, beginning in January, 1829, by the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union, in New York City; it has already been described under the head of that society's publications. For a good many years it had a relatively large circulation. On the other hand, the *Children's Guide*, issued in Portland, Maine, ended its brief career in the summer of 1835. In the absence of further information about this magazine we may conclude that its place of publication was too remote to allow much of a circulation outside of New England,—and there a magazine conducted on the plane of childhood experience was contrary to ingrained beliefs that children were miniature adults and had no life of their own that could not be adjusted to adult standards. The *Sunday Visitant* started in Charleston, South Carolina, in January, 1818, has been mentioned as a weekly paper intended chiefly for 'young Persons,' but it was not sufficiently adapted to boys and girls to be listed as a children's magazine."

The *Children's Magazine* (1829-1850) had great influence for its day. Starting with a circulation of 5,000 in 1829, it had increased to 7,500 in 1835. It was a considerable innovation in religious education for its time.⁴⁹

⁴⁸Brewer, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

⁴⁹Brewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-196.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCHMAN (1831-)

ON March 26, 1831, there appeared in New York a four page folio publication entitled the *Churchman*, bearing beneath the title the slogan: "The Church of the Living God, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth."¹ The name of the Rev. John W. Curtis, A. M., was given as editor,² and his name was continued at the head of the paper until August of that year.³ In the issue of August 27, 1831, the following notice appeared:

"The Rev. John W. Curtis has relinquished the editorial charge of the *Churchman*."

"The Rev. Mr. Curtis has requested us to state that the second term of the Collegiate School, of which he is the principal,⁴ will commence on Monday, the 5th of September. His whole and undivided attention will now be given to this institution and he trusts that the reasonableness of its terms⁵ and its regulation by a well known and highly distinguished Board of Trustees will secure for it the attention of parents and guardians. He hopes by unremitted attention and exertion on his own part to render the Institution in every respect worthy of patronage."

A further announcement stated that "the subscription list has now attained an extent deemed sufficient to warrant the Protestant Episcopal Press, heretofore only the printers for the proprietors, in assuming in the confidence of a continued and increased support the whole responsibility of the paper which they have accordingly done."

"It will for the present and until further notice be conducted by the editor and agent of the press (W. R. Whitting-

¹1 Timothy, iii:15.

²The *Churchman*, Vol. I, No. 1, March 26, 1831.

³It last appears in the *Churchman* issued of Aug. 20, 1831.

⁴The Collegiate School was located at No. 75 Varick St., corner of Canal, and the advertisement in this same issue of the *Churchman* announced that "Young gentlemen will be prepared in this institution, either for admission into college or for the pursuits of active life. The course of collegiate training will be that established by the faculty of Columbia College."

⁵These were given as, for classical scholars, with full collegiate course, per quarter, \$10.00; for English scholars per quarter, \$6.00.

ham⁶ and J. V. Van Ingen)⁷ under the supervision as heretofore of the Bishop.⁸ It is needless to add that no change will take place in the principles of the paper which will continue if not a champion at least an humble aspirant to the service of evangelical truth and apostolic order in their simplicity and integrity."

The original subscription rate of the *Churchman* was \$3.00 a year—the highest amount that had yet been charged for a weekly Church paper. It was announced that this high price was necessitated by the fact that in its first year the necessary expenditures would "exceed the avails"⁹ but that after the first of January, 1832, subscriptions would be received at \$2.50 a year in advance. In addition the following proposition was urged upon subscribers:

"We look upon our present subscribers and upon such as may evince their good will by subscribing before the date of reduction as patrons to the paper, contributing the difference between the present and the reduced price as a free will offering toward the establishment of a weekly Protestant Episcopal periodical, emanating from the great commercial metropolis of our country. This statement is now made in the confident expectation that many who have been deterred from affording us their patronage by supposing that the present rate of subscription was to continue will cheerfully come forward to offer that as a donation, merely designed to reimburse the publishers what they hesitated to give as a matter of right. Our friends in the city have done well; but there is yet room to do more. It is now time for our well-wishers in the country to bestir themselves and say whether New York—the queen of our dioceses—shall suffer the publishers of her official organ of ecclesiastical intelligence of spiritual counsel, to be losers by their undertaking."¹⁰

The first issue of the *Churchman* contained an editorial announcement to the public which was of the nature of a prospectus, together

⁶Dr. Whittingham was later bishop of Maryland. He had previous editorial experience, having been editor of the *Family Visitor* (fortnightly) and the *Children's Magazine* (monthly). In 1829 he took charge of the work of the Protestant Episcopal Press, which was then the principal publishing house of the Episcopal Church. Vide, *Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, edited by James Grant Wilson, p. 435. For his complete biography, see William F. Brand, "Life of William Rollinson Whittingham," New York, 1886. Two volumes.

⁷Van Ingen was the brother-in-law of Dr. Whittingham. Van Ingen rendered distinguished service to the Church, especially in Western New York and Minnesota. See Charles W. Hayes, "The Diocese of Western New York," and George C. Tanner, "History of the Diocese of Minnesota."

⁸The Rt. Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D. For his biography, see E. C. Chorley, "Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church," Vol. IX (1940), pp. 1-51.

⁹The *Churchman*, August 27, 1831.

¹⁰The *Churchman*, August 27, 1831, p. 90.

with a letter of commendation by Bishop Onderdonk.¹¹ As the *Churchman* proved to be the first periodical of the Episcopal Church to endure permanently,¹² it will perhaps be worth while to quote this statement *in extenso*. The editor wrote:

"At the first presentation of our name and character to the public, it becomes us to make our bow in due form, and bespeak the favorable regards of those, who are to sit in judgment upon our destiny. To secure these, we think it will be required only to point the attention to a single fact—the undeniable want of a periodical like that which we propose to publish. It is well known that the Episcopal Church fills a more extended portion of the general view in the city of New-York, than in any other part of America: and it is equally well known that the Churchmen of this large and flourishing metropolis, have, hitherto derived fewer advantages from the periodical press, than their brethren of the south and north, the east and the west, who do not command either the wealth, the influence, or the reading population of the diocese of New York. The interval of time hitherto adopted by our publishers has been too great. The public taste, the taste of the age demanded something in the form of the ordinary newspaper. We propose to meet that demand.—And shall it be said, that, while our daily papers are bearing off the palm from every sister city in the mercantile world; while a tremendous and overpowering influence is exerted by them, in the political world; and while our brethren of other denominations are pouring out, week after week, their printed volumes upon every side of us—shall it be said, that the Churchmen of New York, either cannot, or will not sustain a periodical like the one now presented for their support? We trust not.

"In regard to the principles of our paper, a few brief remarks will suffice. Our title speaks for itself. We love, we venerate the Church. With St. Paul, and with our late lamented Bishop, we hold it to be 'the pillar and ground of the truth.' We regard it as our solemn duty, to set forth before all the world, upon every proper occasion, and by every honest method, the excellence and the beauty of the Church; and when called upon, we ever shall 'be ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason for the hope that is in us;' but at the same time, 'with meekness and with fear.' We shall never court controversy; but we shall stand firm as the rock upon our defence, always remembering 'that most excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace, and of all virtues.'—And where is the Churchman, we ask, who would wish us to do otherwise?

"A word as to the manner of conducting the paper, and

¹¹*The Churchman*, March 26, 1831, p. 2.

¹²It is still published at this time, despite one or two interruptions.

we have done. It shall be our object to combine variety and interest with utility. We shall endeavor to give a faithful record of ecclesiastical intelligence, and our columns shall be always open to communications tending to illustrate the history, the doctrines and the practice of the Church. And while the sublime study of theology may lead us now and then 'to the height of some great argument;' in order to enliven and refresh our pages, we shall not hesitate to avail ourselves of the literature of the day, of the lighter departments of composition, and of that kind of *small* change which now passes current in the republic of letters. We are aware of the danger of making large promises. We do not like to hear them, and we do not like to make them; but we think we have ample reason to make known our conviction, that the public will not be disappointed in our efforts to please, when we announce the fact, that our brethren of the clergy generally, in this city, have given us the kindest assurances of frequent and liberal cooperation and contribution. Of the talent, the learning, the taste and the piety of these gentlemen, it would be superfluous to speak; they are well known to the public, and their aid cannot fail to insure to our columns everything, which may be requisite to render them interesting and instructive.

"In conclusion, we beg leave to state, that the Right Rev. Bishop Onderdonk has kindly furnished us with the following letter, addressed to the Clergy and Laity of the diocese of New York; and we humbly anticipate, that the interest, which is therein manifested, for our success, will awaken, throughout the diocese, a corresponding interest in the prosperity of

"THE CHURCHMAN."

Bishop Onderdonk's letter was a lengthy one, expressing full confidence in the new periodical. At the same time, Bishop Onderdonk did not forget that one Church periodical was already being published in his diocese and accordingly he added:

"But my brethren in recommending the *Churchman* to your patronage and support I am far from forgetting my own obligations and those of the diocese, of our Church at large, and of the general cause of religion, to that highly valuable paper, the *Gospel Messenger*, which has, for some years, been published at Auburn, in this diocese. I have long considered it as one of the best papers of the kind, in reference to its particular sphere of usefulness, within my knowledge. It is the most efficient missionary agent in the interesting and important western section of our state. May its worthy, well

qualified, and indefatigable editor be rewarded for his unwearied labors in the cause of Christ and the Church, by an enlarged and permanent patronage to his excellent paper. I ask not one of my brethren in the West, Clerical or Lay, to take the *Churchman* unless he also takes the *Messenger*. His first duty is to the latter for it may reasonably be expected to be better able to meet the exigencies of the Church in that region than any paper published elsewhere. I am sure, however, that the means exist very extensively, and may I now hope that the disposition is as extensive?—to take both, and thus widen the field of useful information, and strengthen, more effectually, the good cause of our Church; which, the more it is impartially investigated, is the more seen to be one with the best interests of the everlasting Gospel.

"Commending that cause to your pious devotion, and willing and liberal co-operation, and yourselves to the blessings of God's providence and grace, I am, Brethren, Your affectionate Diocesan, Benjamin T. Onderdonk."

Recognizing the value of advertising, the *Churchman* carried advertisements in its columns from the outset. In the first issue there was a lengthy advertisement of the New York Protestant Episcopal Press which had been instituted in 1828 and before long there were other advertisements of publishers, Church schools, and the like. One interesting type of advertising was that of pew rentals, of which the following is typical:¹³

ST. THOMAS' CHURCH

"Persons wishing to hire Pews in this Church are requested to apply to David Hadden, 61 Pine St., C. N. S. Rowland, 45 Water St., Wm. H. Jephson, 13 Bond St., Robert Gracie, 20 Broad St.

"One of the Committee will attend at the Church this afternoon (Saturday) at 4 o'clock.

"May 14.

4 w."

The *Churchman* continued for some time as a four page folio publication with five columns to a page. As an example of the nature of its contents during the editorship of Drs. Whittingham and Van Ingen, the contents of a typical issue selected at random gives the following distribution of material:¹⁴

¹³*The Churchman*, May 14, 1831, p. 31.

¹⁴*The Churchman*, November 26, 1831.

Page 1: Morning. A poem by John Keble, 1/2 column.

- (141) Narrative. Diothrephes—An instructive History, quoted from the *Dublin Christian Examiner*, 2-1/2 columns.

Missions. Extracts from the Periodical Missionary Paper for November, containing reports from Kentucky, Missouri, Mississippi, and Florida. 2 columns.

Page 2: The Essayist. Observations on a sermon by "the late Dr. Rice, of Virginia, published so far back as 1825," the quotation being taken from the *New York Observer*. Also another article under the Essayist on Faithful Preaching, the two of them taking up 3-1/2 columns.

Miscellaneous notes, half news and half editorial, under the heading, The Churchman.

Page 3: Continuation of these notes, 2-1/2 columns.

- (143) Death notice, 1/4 column.

Intelligence, i. e., clerical changes, official notices, and summary of domestic and foreign news—the latter from England, Newfoundland, Barbados, Antigua, 1-1/2 columns.

Acknowledgments and Advertisements, 3/4 column.

Page 4: Poem by George Herbert, 1/2 column.

- (144) Practical. Extracts from various periodical and literary sources, 1-1/2 columns.

Scriptural. An article quoted from the *Dublin Christian Examiner*, 1-1/2 columns.

Biblical Criticism. A commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew, taken from the *Eclectic Review*, slightly over 1/2 column.

Advertisement of the Protestant Episcopal Press, and list of agents for the *Churchman*, the balance of the page.¹⁵

¹⁵These agents were very widely distributed through the Church of the day being listed in the following states: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Ohio, Louisiana, Kentucky and Tennessee.

The purpose of the *Churchman* was repeated in each issue as follows:

"The object of this paper, as a religious periodical, is, of course, to disseminate religious intelligence, to elucidate Christian doctrine, and to explain and enforce the principles and precepts of evangelical piety.

"For the proper and more effectual accomplishment of these general objects, it will be particularly devoted to the interests, in every department, of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and to this end will maintain and set forth, and when necessary, defend these principles and that policy, which had the well-known warm and decided sanction and approbation of the late venerated and beloved Bishop Hobart; and in the application of which, he so faithfully and successfully labored in behalf of that cause to which 'The *Churchman*' will be devoted, 'Evangelical Truth, and Apostolic Order.'"

The *Churchman* suffered in its early days through frequent editorial changes. Dr. Whittingham resigned in 1832 and Van Ingen continued alone until February, 1833, when he was taken ill and had to give up the work.¹⁶ At this point Dr. Whittingham took up the editorship again and continued it until the first of September, when the Rev. Samuel Seabury¹⁷ became the editor. Dr. Seabury was to continue as editor for sixteen years, during which time the *Churchman* established and maintained its reputation as one of the greatest and most powerful periodicals of the Episcopal Church.

As stated in an earlier chapter,¹⁸ the *Episcopal Watchman* petered out in the latter part of 1833. About the first of November in that year the *Churchman* took over the subscription list and good will of the *Episcopal Watchman*, thus establishing a measure of continuity with the earliest succession of periodicals in the Episcopal Church. It will be recalled that the *Episcopal Watchman* was the successor of the *Churchman's Magazine*, the oldest periodical in the Episcopal Church, the first issue of which had been published in January, 1804.

On the basis of this succession, the *Churchman* until recently carried in its masthead the claim to be the oldest religious journal in the

¹⁶*The History of the Churchman*, by the Rev. C. H. Brewer, Pt. II, published in the *Churchman*, November 21, 1925.

¹⁷Grandson of Bishop Seabury. Born June 9, 1801. Son of Rev. Charles and Ann (Salstonstall) Seabury. Ordained deacon, April 12, 1826; priest, July 7, 1828, by Bishop Hobart, and died October 10, 1872.

¹⁸Chapter IV, pp. 245-249.

English-speaking world,¹⁹ and its cover design today carries the words, "Established 1804."

The *Churchman's* claim to this distinction is open to considerable doubt. For one thing its actual origin was in 1831 as a new publication, its connection with the *Episcopal Watchman* not being established until two years later.

In the second place, the *Churchman's Magazine* and the *Episcopal Watchman* were by no means continuously published from 1804 to 1833. There were, as we have seen, a number of gaps—notably from 1811 to 1813, from 1816 to 1821, and for a brief period in 1823 and 1824 between the Brownell and Bronson editorships.

In the third place the *Churchman* itself has not enjoyed uninterrupted publication from its establishment to the present day, for it was suspended from 1861 to 1867—a long interval of six years—and for other briefer periods.

As a matter of fact, there are other religious periodicals in this country that have a better claim than the *Churchman* to the title of the oldest religious periodical, especially if continuity of publication is considered. *Advance*, Congregational weekly published in Boston under the able editorship of Dr. William E. Gilroy, traces its history back to the founding of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* on September 1, 1808.²⁰ The *Christian Leader*, organ of the Universalist Church, is the direct successor of the *Universalist Magazine*, established July 3, 1819, by Hosea Ballou. The *Christian Register*, Boston Unitarian weekly, was founded in 1821 and carries at its masthead at the present time the statement: "In the one hundred and twenty-second year of continuous publication, the oldest religious journal in America bearing its original title."

But the record of being the oldest religious weekly with a continuous record of publication probably rightly belongs to the *Christian Observer*, organ of the Presbyterian Church, published in Louisville, Kentucky.²¹

¹⁹The *Churchman* did not always make this claim, for in an 1832 issue (exact date unknown, taken from a clipping in Dr. Chorley's possession), the editor notes: "The [New York] *Observer* proves, we think, that the oldest religious newspaper . . . is the Boston Recorder." This periodical is one of the papers merged in the present-day Congregationalist monthly, *Advance*.

²⁰But Dr. J. Pressley Barrett, editor of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* in 1908, pointed out in his book, *The Centennial of Religious Journalism*, that it had not had an uninterrupted course of publication. From 1808 to October, 1817, it bore its original title; from May, 1818, to 1839 it was the *Christian Herald*; later, after an interval as the *Christian Herald and Journal*, it was changed back to the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*. Originally it was a bi-weekly; later successively a bi-monthly, monthly, and (from 1839) a weekly. In 1931 it was merged with the *Congregationalist*, which continued both titles for a time and then renamed the combined publication *Advance*.

²¹This claim has been frequently set forth and, I think, proved by the *Christian Observer*, notably in its issue of February 19, 1936.

This periodical was established September 4, 1813, as the *Religious Remembrancer*, and has been continuously published as a weekly from that date to the present. Its name was changed in 1840 to the *Christian Observer*. It holds the further record of having been edited by three generations of the same family for 115 years.²²

The history of the *Churchman* has been told elsewhere²³ and as only a very small portion of this history took place in the periodical up to the end of 1840, which is the subject of our special consideration, it is unnecessary to do more than summarize it briefly here.

In its earlier days, the *Churchman* was definitely a high church or Anglo-catholic periodical. As such it was in spirit the predecessor of *The Living Church* of the present day rather than of the twentieth century *Churchman*.²⁴ From the days of Hobart there had been a very pronounced and influential high church tendency in America so that the way was well prepared for the Oxford Movement, which originated with the preaching and writing of Keble, Newman, and their associates in England in 1833. The *Churchman* welcomed the "Tracts for the Times," which were the principal medium for the expression of the catholic revival in the Church of England, and at the time of the *Churchman's* suspension at the beginning of the Civil War it was glad to say that it had always defended the Tracts "against every adversary worthy of notice." In its advocacy of the Oxford principles, the *Churchman* frequently had occasion to take issue with contemporary periodicals in the Episcopal Church, especially the *Protestant Episcopalian* and its successor, the *Banner of the Cross*, published at Philadelphia, and the *Church Register* published in the same city. Dr. Chorley gives an interesting picture of some phases of this controversy.²⁵

"Little notice appears to have been taken in the United States of the earlier Tracts. Dr. Samuel Seabury said that he had inserted parts of them in the *Churchman*, but found they

²²The editors of this periodical have been as follows: Dr. Amasa Converse, editor from Feb. 17, 1827, to Dec. 9, 1872; Dr. F. Bartlett Converse, associate editor and later editor from Jan. 7, 1858, to Sept. 29, 1907; and Harry P. Converse, successively business manager and managing editor from 1899 to the present. Vide, *Christian Observer*, Feb. 17, 1937, p. 2. This periodical is not to be confused with the *Anglican Christian Observer*, an American edition of which was published during most of the 19th century, as described in Chapter I, pp. 206-208.

²³In a series of four articles by the Rev. Clifton H. Brewer, Ph. D., in the *Churchman* of November 14, November 21, and November 28, and December 5, 1935. Most of the following summary is taken from this source, except where it is otherwise credited.

²⁴It is interesting to note in this connection that Dr. Tillotson Bronson, one of the early editors of the *Churchman's Magazine*, was a collateral ancestor of the present editor of *The Living Church*, who is also the author of this study.

²⁵*Men and Movements in the Episcopal Church*, an unpublished manuscript by the Rev. Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, Historiographer of the Episcopal Church.

were regarded as dry reading and so confined them to the dust of his library. It was not until the appearance of Newman's *Tract on Justification* that they became a factor in the American Church. On that particular Tract Seabury thought that Newman had 'substantially espoused the Roman side, and surrendered the views which, as we have been accustomed to think, discriminate the Church of England from the Romanists on the one hand, and the Puritans on the other.' Nevertheless, he expressed the hope that the Tracts would be republished and read in America.

"The expression of this pious hope brought out a letter in the *Gambier Observer*, signed 'Cranmer,' in which the writer took Seabury to task. He asserted that the Tract 'set the sinner to rely on his own righteousness for justification before God, and added, 'What heresy more awful' and went on:

" 'Preaching another gospel. Though an angel from heaven do it, the command of inspiration is, "Let him be anathema." It is enough. Let them not be republished, any more than you would offer poisoned meat in the shambles. They will disgrace the Church that patronizes them, and corrupt the minds that receive what they contain. To say that the authors are learned and good, is of no weight. Have there been no learned and good authors among Popish theologians? But do we want their learning, with their false doctrines? To say that the Tracts have a great deal that is good and valuable, is of no weight. So have hundreds of books which we all wish had never been born; so has Den's theology, so has much that Priestly wrote. The German neological writings are full of valuable matter; but do we wish them to be published and read among our people? Would they be a treasure to our Church? The meat is putrid to the bone; we need no further examination.'

"To all of which Seabury replied in a bitterly sarcastic vein in the *Churchman*:

" 'We knew well enough that *such* was the far-famed liberality of Churchmen who love to inhale applause on the platform of Amalgamation Societies, but we had yet to learn—that such are the freedom and independence of the West. Grieved indeed we are that a proscription which, for the charity of its spirit and its delicate and tasteful expression, is suited to the meridian of Maynooth College in Papal Ireland, should have emanated from the precincts of Kenyon College.'

"Early in 1839 the Tracts began to attract attention outside our Church circles. The *Christian Intelligencer*, a denominational paper, observed that 'the papists are looking with pleasure, and hailing the rise and apparent progress of the Oxford Tract Divinity. These subjects are beginning to attract attention in America. We have observed for some time past, in some of the strongly High Church papers, particularly the *Churchman*, views and sentiments strongly assim-

lated to the Oxford Tract theology. Of late in reference to these Tracts the *Churchman* and the *Banner of the Cross*, printed in Philadelphia, speak of them with great kindness and partiality, although not willing wholly to endorse them. On the contrary, the *Episcopal Recorder*, the *Gambier Observer*, and the *Southern Churchman* take decided ground against them as anti-evangelical and anti-Protestant.'

"In the beginning the *Churchman* was cautious in writing of the Tracts. Conceding that their publication here 'would open to the American Church the sources of direct information respecting the Oxford divines, and would bring into circulation a system of theology widely different from the views which generally prevail in our country.' Seabury wrote:

"'Heartily however as we approve of many of the Tracts which we have read, and much as we dislike the nibbling criticism with which they have been assailed, we have yet seen enough to awaken our apprehensions, that on other fundamental questions, as well as on justification, the Oxford divines are in danger of effacing those lines which broadly discriminate us from Rome and Geneva, and an adherence to which has formed, and we hope will continue to form, the distinctive character and glory which the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country has inherited from her venerable mother.'

"As time went on this caution was thrown to the winds.

"On June 29, 1839, Mr. Samuel Coleman, publisher of New York, announced in the advertising columns of the *Churchman* his intention to issue 'A selection of the most interesting and valuable among the writings that have appeared within a few years in England, and which are commonly known under the name of the OXFORD THEOLOGY.' The series of six or eight volumes was to begin with the Tracts for the Times, by Members of the University of Oxford, and Plain Sermons, by contributors to the Tracts for the Times. In an editorial comment Seabury commended the enterprise and added:

"'Whoever subscribes for them will do a good thing for himself and his family; his Church and his country. . . . Most sincerely therefore, do we hope that Mr. Coleman's project may be peacefully encouraged, and that the Oxford theology may be widely circulated, that no controversy may be awakened by it; but that the members of the Church may be left to form an unbiased opinion of its merits.'

"The Tracts had a surprisingly large circulation in the United States. Bishop Stewart of Quebec remarked that he had heard more about them in a three days' sojourn in New York than in a year's residence in London. A correspondent from New England wrote the *Churchman* saying, 'Would you believe that in the country village of farmers and shopkeepers, your Oxford Tracts are read and talked about with as much interest, perhaps, as anywhere in the Church? They are too

poor to subscribe for many copies, but they lend them to one another and make their comments on them in a manner which surprises me."²⁶

"The early Catholic bishops warmly espoused them. Bishop George Washington Doane of New Jersey said 'they needed no advocacy but their own,' and asserted that 'the charge of popery or heresy, is seen at once to be erroneous or malicious.' But their chief support came from Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk of New York and the *Churchman*."

The *Churchman's* advocacy of the Oxford Movement brought it into lively controversy with other Church periodicals. One of its most vigorous opponents was the *Church Record*. Curiously however, despite its rejection of the doctrines of Drs. Pusey and Newman, the *Church Record* vehemently claimed to be "High Church," and said:

"We feel sure that the time must come when our brethren will see that we were quite right in endeavoring to stem the torrent of the 'Low Popery' from Oxford; and, it may be, will even thank us for our labors. In the meantime, having a clear conscience in the matter, we can bear unjust imputations. We will never support opinions merely because they claim to be High Church, or seem, for the time, to give promise of being in the ascendant. A party name is not the stalking horse on which an honorable man will seek to ride into popularity and power."

Dr. Chorley also writes:

"Tract 90 found the *Churchman* undismayed. Dr. Seabury drew a clear distinction between the doctrinal decrees of Trent and the more flagrant abuses of the Church of Rome, and described the principle of the Tract as 'the toleration in our communion of those who were not opposed to the doctrinal decrees of Trent,' and added:

"We do not deny that there are some views advanced in the Tract, both doctrinal and historical, which are not in accordance with our own; but we mean to say, that the principles of interpretation adopted in the Tract are, in our opinion, and as we understand it, neither evasive nor slippery, but honest, manly and straightforward."²⁷

"Later he wrote, 'For one we wish to be distinctly understood as going for the free toleration of Tract 90, and of all candidates for Deacon's and Priest's orders, and of all clergymen who, in other respects worthy of their calling, adopt the principles of the Tract.' Neither was Seabury disturbed by the publication of Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church* which was

²⁶*Churchman*, August 24, 1839.

²⁷*Churchman*. Vol. XI, p. 28.

condemned by the University of Oxford. He wrote: 'In fact we go further, and say we are for the free *toleration* of Mr. Ward's book, and should be glad to see it reprinted in this country, and a copy of it placed in the hands of every clergyman.' He regarded the book 'as sound in the fundamentals of the Christian faith, devotional in its temper, and eminently practical in its aims,' and added, 'for our own part we are thankful to Mr. Ward for his book; thankful to the Church of England for Mr. Ward, thankful for the privilege of being able to read such a book.'²⁸

Again, referring to the conversion of Dr. Newman to the Roman Catholic Church, Dr. Chorley writes:

"Outwardly, at least, the *Churchman* was undismayed by Newman's defection. 'The lapse,' Seabury wrote, 'of an individual, however distinguished, into any error, however extravagant, can never be a matter for surprise, much less consternation, to those who are familiar with the aberrations of the human mind.' He roundly blamed the Anglican Church, saying:

"By kind treatment and a liberal construction of the Articles, the Bishops might have retained these men; by harsh treatment and a narrow construction of the Articles they were sure to estrange and perhaps to lose them. They choose the latter alternative, and the same starched and narrow policy which was the occasion of Mr. Wesley's schism has been tried in another critical juncture and followed by the lapse of Mr. Newman. But this is not the worst. In their recoil from Mr. Wesley the governors of the English Church lost their balance and committed themselves to errors as bad or worse than his in an opposite direction; and so their successors in their recoil from Mr. Newman have countenanced worse errors in the opposite direction than any which Mr. Newman has taught or probably ever will teach. The Church of England has been far more injured by such defenders as Bishops Lavington and Whately than by such defections as Mr. Wesley's and Mr. Newman's. It is notorious that in their opposition to Mr. Newman some of the Bishops have advanced very lax sentiments respecting the sacraments and the divine constitution of the Church, and by not restraining, have encouraged looser views in others than they have advanced themselves. Others may lament over Mr. Newman; but for our part we think the low tone of doctrine which the treatment of Mr. Newman has brought to light to be much more a subject of regret."²⁹

²⁸Smith and Anthon, *A Statement of Facts in Relation to the Recent Ordination*, p. 12.

²⁹*Churchman*, November 22, 1845.

"Other High Churchmen did not treat the matter so lightly. They were seriously disturbed. Bishop Whittingham thought that 'Pusey's stay more than outweighs Newman's defection.' At the same time he addressed a strong letter to Dr. Pusey in the course of which he said:

" 'A man, once loved and honored as a most dear brother, has lifted up his heel against his and our holy Mother, and set himself to destroy the evidence of her espousals. . . . Dare we bear with such conduct and seem to connive at it by using gentle language, or passing it by in silence? If schism be a sin, we must treat schismatics as sinners, or be ourselves partakers of their guilt.' "30

Although this study is concerned primarily with the period before 1840, it may be well to complete the story of the *Churchman* by a rapid survey of its subsequent history.

Dr. Seabury served as both proprietor and editor of the *Churchman* from 1833 to 1849 when these two positions were taken over by the Rev. William Walton, D. D., but in 1852 Dr. Walton sold the periodical to John Hecker, a layman. Of him Dr. Brewer writes:³¹

"Hecker seemed anxious to keep the paper up to its high literary standard; perhaps he intended even to improve on the past, for he put in as editor the Rev. Henry N. Hudson, the renowned Shakespearean scholar. Hudson continued the general policy and the high quality, too, of the *Churchman*. At least, he did so for a time, until the proprietor began to interfere with the editorial columns; then he resigned—in 1854."

Following Hecker Mr. Thomas Ramsey, an English layman, served as editor for four years, but he apparently alienated more friends than he made for the periodical, and in 1858 a "new editorial arrangement" was announced. However, political disturbances were beginning to rend the Church as well as the State, and the beginning of the Civil War caused the *Churchman* to be suspended. The last issue of this series was that of May 2, 1861, in which the announcement was made that it could no longer continue in the "disturbed state of the country."

Of the appearance of the *Churchman* during this period, Dr. Brewer writes:³²

"The old *Churchman* looked much like a newspaper. For a long period its heading was in plain capital letters; some years before the Civil War it changed this type to Old English. It

³⁰William F. Brand, *Life of Whittingham*, Vol. I, p. 443.

³¹Brewer, *op. cit.*

³²Article cited in the *Churchman*, September 21, 1925.

started with five columns on a page; at the end of five years it enlarged this by one column, and in March, 1854, began to issue eight pages weekly, instead of four, going back to the five column page. By the time of this enlargement church news had increased considerably and there was more church literature to review. There was a large gain in the advertising department, too. The few hired spaces of former days increased anon until we find, shortly before the Civil War, dignified advertisements of church colleges and schools side by side with those of insurance companies, of paper hanging offers, of hair restorer, of Spalding's Prepared Glue and of Park's Prickly Plasters."

With the resumption of publication after the Civil War, the *Churchman* again established continuity with Church journalism in Connecticut.³³ The succession this time was through the *Chronicle of the Church*,³⁴ established in 1837, which later changed its title successively to the *Church Chronicle and Record*, the *Practical Christian and Church Chronicle*, and the *Connecticut Calendar*, which from 1845 was the official organ of the diocese of Connecticut. The numbering of the last named periodical was continued in the new series of the *Churchman*.

During its subsequent history the *Churchman* frequently absorbed other Church papers, notably in 1878 the *Church Journal*,³⁵ in 1871 the *American Churchman*, in 1883 the *Guardian*, in 1887 the *Church Magazine*, in 1888 the *Church Press*, in 1891 the *Church Year*, and in 1908 the *Church Standard*.

In 1867 there began the long association of the Mallory brothers

³³The History of the *Churchman* in Modern Times, by the Rev. Clifton H. Brewer, in the *Churchman*, December 5, 1925.

³⁴At the founding of this paper, in 1836, the *Churchman* said: "We have received a circular containing proposals for publishing a new paper, to be called 'The Chronicle of the Church.' The proposals are issued by Mr. A. B. Chapin, of Wallingford, Connecticut; and the paper is to appear under the auspices of the Bishop and clergy of the Diocese of Connecticut, in conformity with a vote passed during the late Commencement of Washington College, at an informal meeting of the Bishop and several of the clergy, requesting Mr. Chapin to issue proposals, and (in case of their success) to assume the editorship, under the direction, and with the advice of, the Bishop and Standing Committee of the Diocese. The Chronicle of the Church is to be published on a royalty sheet of ordinary size, and to be furnished to subscribers at \$2 per annum. Of the abilities of Mr. Chapin we can speak in terms of high commendation: and were we to name the signature under which he has, from time to time, enriched the columns of the *Churchman*, our readers would agree with us, that the contemplated journal is to be intrusted to a man of various learning, of ready and prolific pen, and uncommonly vigorous mind. If the acknowledged strength of Mr. Chapin shall prove to be sufficiently tempered with mercy, and guided with discretion, the Church will find in him an efficient advocate."

³⁵This was a vigorous Anglo-catholic publication, published with great influence for a quarter of a century under the editorship of Dr. John Henry Hopkins, son of the bishop of Vermont of the same name.

with the *Churchman*. The editors at first were the Rev. Drs. George F. Mallory and William W. Niles, professors at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. Dr. Niles was elected bishop of New Hampshire in 1870, but Dr. Mallory continued for 30 years to serve as editor of the *Churchman*. In 1877 he removed the office of publication to New York City and continued to edit the *Churchman* with moderation and sound churchmanship until his death March 2, 1897.

He was succeeded by his brother, Marshall H. Mallory, who continued as proprietor of the *Churchman* until 1912. However, the editorship was placed in the hands of Silas McBee, a layman from North Carolina, under whom the *Churchman* lost much of its influence and leadership because of the mildness of his editorial policy. From 1875 the *Churchman* was published in magazine format, though it continued as a weekly.

In 1912 Silas McBee left the *Churchman* to become editor of the *Constructive Quarterly*, an interdenominational publication, and Marshall Mallory relinquished the ownership of the *Churchman* to a group of New York clergymen and laymen. The Rev. Herbert B. Gwyn undertook the editorship for a few months, but in July, 1913, the Rev. Charles K. Gilbert, D. D., now suffragan bishop of New York, accepted the editorship, continuing for four years. Under his administration the *Churchman* became definitely a liberal and modernist publication and regained a large measure of the influence that it had lost under milder editorial policy. In January, 1918, the Rev. William Austin Smith became editor. He was a brilliant scholar and an able journalist, under whose leadership the *Churchman* reached its greatest heights. But Dr. Smith was not in good health and on September 27, 1922, after a long illness, he died.

Dr. Smith was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Guy Emery Shieler, who had been a member of the *Churchman* staff since 1917. Dr. Shieler continued the policies of Dr. Smith and under his leadership the *Churchman* has continued to be the principal organ of the liberal protestant school of thought in the Episcopal Church. Dr. Shieler also greatly developed the news columns of the *Churchman* which, however, was changed from a weekly to a semi-monthly publication in March, 1933.³⁶ It is thus no longer one of the Church weeklies, but it still summarizes the news of the Church twice a month and so retains many of the characteristics of a news magazine. The subscription price, formerly \$4.00 a year, was increased in January, 1942, to \$5.00 a year.

³⁶In July and August only a single monthly issue is published.

CHAPTER VII

THE SOUTHERN CHURCHMAN (1835-)

THE *Southern Churchman*, through its evangelical and missionary interest, gained much the same position in the South that the *Churchman* did in the rest of the Church. True, it took the other side of the question, so far as the Oxford Movement was concerned, but in that it accorded with the conservatism of its Southern followers and so continued to receive their support. This support was strengthened during the Civil War when the *Southern Churchman* cast in its lot with the fortunes of the Confederacy, and following the war many Southern Churchmen, who would have little to do with Northern institutions or publications, continued their loyal support of this periodical.¹

The founder and first editor of the *Southern Churchman* was the Rev. William Fitzhugh Lee, son of Edmund I. Lee of Alexandria, Virginia.² Lee was a graduate of the Virginia Theological Seminary but had been compelled to give up active work on account of ill health. In its centennial number, the *Southern Churchman* says:³

"From the beginning he had for his paper the backing of the Seminary. In fact, there are reasons to believe that that Institution had more than a passing interest in the development of the *Southern Churchman*. Certainly, the happenings on 'the Hill' were chronicled with much more detail than was the case in later years.

"Mr. Lee had circulated a prospectus explaining his motives in publishing a religious journal. So far as is known, there

¹However, the Rt. Rev. Joseph B. Cheshire, bishop of North Carolina, in *The Church in the Confederate States*, says that during the Civil War the *Southern Churchman* was circulated chiefly in the diocese of Virginia and was virtually a diocesan publication. The principal organ of the Church in the Confederate States was the *Church Intelligencer*, published in Raleigh from March, 1860, to April, 1864.

²This sketch of the *Southern Churchman* is based upon articles in the anniversary number of the *Southern Churchman*, January 5, 1935 (Vol. 100, No. 1), as the author has not examined a file of this periodical. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon writes that there is a fairly complete file for the first fifty or sixty years at the Virginia State Library, also a complete file of the first two years at the diocesan library.

³*Southern Churchman*, January 5, 1935, p. 6.

is no copy of this pamphlet extant,⁴ but we read, however, in a subsequent editorial that the purposes for which the *Southern Churchman* was established were 'The promotion of practical piety, the diffusion of religious and general intelligence, and the maintenance of the distinctive principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church.'

"In looking over the first number of the paper, we are immediately struck with the amount of space given to missionary news, not only of the Episcopal but of all Churches. The death of the great William Carey is noticed; items from English Church papers are often copied. The *Spirit of Missions*, itself only a few years old,⁵ contributed largely to this number, the editor searched far and wide for material to make his paper interesting and, it must be confessed, considered his scissors mightier than his pen, and used them constantly in his editorial work. From the beginning he tried to make his readers 'missionary-minded,' as we say today. That he succeeded is evident. Many letters from missionaries appeared, and increasingly news from foreign lands was printed, as the work of the Church spread. The paper was widely circulated. In an early number we find a protest from a reader against the word 'Southern' in its name, as this would seem to imply

⁴Although the original prospectus may have disappeared, it is quoted in full in the *Churchman* (date unknown, clipping in Chorley Collection). This said, in part:

"This publication will be commenced as soon as a number of subscribers sufficient to justify the step can be obtained.

"Its peculiar theology will be that of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

"A principal reason for the commencement of this publication is, that, with the exception of the *Gospel Messenger*, a monthly pamphlet, whose circulation is believed to be confined almost exclusively to the State of South Carolina, there exists no periodical devoted to the interests of the Protestant Episcopal Church throughout all our Southern and Southwestern Country, which embraces a population of five millions of souls . . .

"Second in prominence to the exhibition of man as a sinner, Christ crucified as an all-sufficient Saviour, and the Holy Spirit as an essential agent in the work of human salvation, the *Southern Churchman* will present the distinctive characteristics of Episcopalians. It will be the prompt and zealous advocate of institutions, properly conducted, designed to afford to members of the Church facilities for early instruction, and sound expositions of the nature and grounds of our pure faith, primitive order, and scriptural liturgy . . .

"The *Southern Churchman* will be published weekly in the City of Richmond, Va., at \$2.50 per annum, if paid in advance, otherwise \$3 will be demanded. Its sheet will equal in size and quality that upon which the *Episcopal Recorder* or the *Churchman* is published."

⁵This is an error, for the first issue of the *Spirit of Missions* was that for January, 1836, while the first issue of the *Southern Churchman* was a year earlier, bearing the date January 2, 1835. Dr. Brydon writes: "Our first issue is in very bad shape but we looked it over as best we could. There is a great deal of missionary news, but we did not find any mention of the *Spirit of Missions*. The author of that centennial statement must have intended to say that reports from the *Spirit of Missions* appear in the early numbers, and quite probably had in mind the publications of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society anterior to the *Spirit of Missions*."

that its influence and circulation were sectional rather than general.

"Bishop Meade gave his whole-hearted support to the *Southern Churchman*. In early numbers he contributed many articles and some of his sermons. He counselled the editor to present each week some article or story which would be suitable for reading aloud to children and servants. He himself furnished the first of these, a dialogue between two servants as to the validity of the conversion of one of them. If either 'Sambo' or 'Toney' could have understood a word which was put in their mouths by the good Bishop, he was indeed an exceptional servant.

"Mr. Lee, suffering from tuberculosis, soon had to leave Richmond, where he had been publishing the *Churchman* and go to his father's home in Alexandria. He moved his office with him and was able to continue his work up to the time of his death in May, 1837. The writer of his obituary in the *Southern Churchman* says of him: 'His popularity as a preacher of the Gospel rendered him universally acceptable. His zeal in the discharge of his sacred duties was of the first order. He possessed a mind of the most vigorous character and a spirit of Gospel industry seldom equalled. He was a firm and decided Episcopalian, but at the same time lived in peace and friendship with other denominations of Christians.'

"After an interim of a few months the Rev. Zachariah Mead became editor, which office he held until 1843. That he had his doubts about undertaking the work is shown by the following quotation from his first editorial. 'The advice was not without a plausible reason which a Right Reverend friend gave to one who had solicited it in relation to his acceptance of the editorship of a religious periodical: 'My dear Sir,' said he, 'if you do not wish to ruin your soul forever, let it alone.'"

"Mr. Mead inaugurated a 'Junior Department.' We can early see the hand of Mrs. Editor in the selections chosen for the children, but no record has been kept on earth of the faithful work of the women who have contributed so largely to the success of this feature of the *Southern Churchman*. Even so, the 'poems' chosen to head the column left much to be desired from our present-day point of view. In 1843, Mr. Mead gave up the paper. As there are no numbers for this year in the files to which we have access, we are unable to give the reason for his resignation."

The history of the *Southern Churchman* from 1843 to 1937 may be very briefly summarized, since it is outside the time limit of this study. Following the resignation of Mead, the periodical was continued with a member of the Virginia Seminary faculty, Dr. E. R. Lippitt, as editor. In 1848 he resigned his editorial duties because of failing strength and the Rev. George A. Smith became editor, continuing in

this position until 1855. Then began the long editorship of the Rev. Dr. Francis Sprigg from 1855 to 1899. "During this time," says the *Southern Churchman*,⁶ "he exerted an influence on the Church in the South which can never be measured. His name was a household word. . . . His style was 'as a writer clear, vigorous and pointed; he wasted no words and never left a doubt as to his meaning.' The story is told of a fellow minister who, knowing of Dr. Sprigg's reputation as a writer of obituaries, was heard to remark that 'it added to the terrors of death to know Dr. Sprigg would write one's obituary.'"

The *Southern Churchman* was suspended from May 24 to November, 1861, due to the occupation of Alexandria by Federal troops. Because of the continued occupation of Alexandria when publication was resumed it was at Richmond, but soon the exigencies of the Civil War again necessitated suspension.

After the war the publication of the *Southern Churchman* was resumed with a new series, beginning its numbering over again with volume 1, number 1. In this issue Dr. Sprigg explained that his office had twice been burned, his subscription list had been lost, he had no books and very poor mailing facilities. Accordingly he warned his readers:

"The editor not being a politician and the paper being published for Church purposes, the discussion of political subjects will form no part of his plan. There is a Kingdom higher than any of the kingdoms of this world which will be in existence when the head of every earthly ruler lies low in the dust."

Publication of the *Southern Churchman* has been continuous from 1864 to the present day. Other editors have been the Rev. Dr. William Meade Clarke, from 1899 to 1914, the Rev. Dr. E. L. Goodwin, from 1914 to 1920, the Rev. Dr. W. Russell Bowie, 1920 to 1923, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Dunn and the Rev. Dr. R. Cary Montague from 1924 to 1927, Mr. Langbourne M. Williams, 1927 to 1931, Rev. Dr. Charles W. Sheerin, 1931 to 1936, Rev. Samuel B. Chilton, 1936 to 1940, and the present editor, the Rev. Beverley M. Boyd, who became editor in 1940.

The *Southern Churchman* continues to be published in Richmond, Virginia, as a weekly periodical of 16 to 24 pages, the subscription price being \$3.00 a year. It represents the low church evangelical wing of the Church, though it has become considerably more liberal, beginning with the editorship of Dr. Sheerin, than under any of its previous editors.

⁶*Southern Churchman*, January 5, 1935, p. 9.

⁷*Southern Churchman*, new series, Vol. I, No. 1, July, 1864.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SPIRIT OF MISSIONS (1836-)

THE year 1835 marked a great missionary advance in the history of the Episcopal Church. The General Convention of the Church in that year adopted the proposition that the Church itself is a missionary society and that every Christian, by virtue of his baptismal vow, is a missionary. Accordingly, it was declared that the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, which had been organized in 1821, was henceforth to include the whole Church and every baptized member of the Episcopal Church was to be considered a member of it.¹

Before this time the extension of the Church had been entirely on a parochial and diocesan basis. That is to say, when a group of individuals in a particular community decided to organize a parish of the Episcopal Church, they got together and formed a lay organization, elected wardens and vestrymen, and incorporated under the law of whatever state they were in. They then called a clergyman on their own initiative and elected him rector of the parish.

When there was a sufficient number of such parishes in a state not yet having diocesan organization, the clergy and lay delegates would meet together in convention and elect a bishop. The bishop-elect might be chosen from among their own clergy or from the older established part of the Church. In any event, when his election had been ratified by a majority of the bishops and standing committees of the whole Church he was consecrated, generally somewhere in the East, and sent out to his new jurisdiction.

Such a procedure, for example, was followed in Ohio when Dr. Philander Chase was elected the first bishop and was consecrated February 11, 1819. Similarly, as the course of empire moved westward, Illinois was organized in the same way in 1833, and again Bishop Chase, who had resigned his jurisdiction of Ohio in 1831, was elected the first bishop.

A new procedure, however, was proposed and was put into effect in the election of Jackson Kemper at the General Convention of 1835 as missionary bishop of the Northwest. Under this method Bishop Kemper was commissioned by the whole Church, and was sent into a new ter-

¹Wilson, *The Divine Commission*, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

ritory in which the Church had as yet scarcely begun any work.² It is said that when Bishop Kemper reached his field he found one church but no clergyman in Missouri and one clergyman but no church in Indiana.³

Within the next few years a number of such missionary bishops were sent out by the general Church. The new policy proved very fruitful indeed for within thirty years after the convention of 1835 the number of clergy and communicants had increased more than four-fold.⁴

Dr. Walter H. Stowe has pointed out⁵ that the decade from 1830 to 1840 was a period of exceptionally rapid growth in the Episcopal Church. The General Convention of 1835, with its strong missionary spirit was, he believes, not the cause, but the effect of this vigor and vitality. During this period the number of dioceses increased from 18 to 25; congregations, from 760 to 1,092; clergy, from 602 to 1,109; communicants, from 31,000 to 55,000. Although the nation was also growing rapidly, the ratio of communicants to population increased from one in 433.5 as reported in 1832 to one in 319 as reported in 1841. This rapid growth was reflected in the number and strength of the Church periodicals during the decade. And the missionary enthusiasm was reflected in the founding of the *Spirit of Missions*, which made a strong appeal to the Church from the start.

The new missionary organization of the Church and the enthusiasm resulting from it seemed to call for a new periodical, published officially by the Church and devoted to the missionary cause. There had, to be sure, been a publication of the Board of Missions called the *Missionary Record*.⁶ But this had been little more than a periodical publication of the notes of the Board's procedure, and little attempt had been made to gain a wide circulation for it, or to present it as a periodical for the whole Church.

²Although Bishop Kemper's official title was bishop of Indiana and Missouri, his work actually covered a very much wider territory, extending as far north as Wisconsin and indeed covering virtually all of what is now the Middle West. Illinois alone had a diocesan bishop and Bishop Kemper even performed various episcopal functions in that diocese at the request of Bishop Chase during his absence in England. Vide, Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, pp. 258-259.

³Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-273.

⁴Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

⁵In his unpublished lecture manuscript, *A Great Decade: 1830-1840*.

⁶In 1831 there was begun a bi-monthly called the *Periodical Missionary Paper*. This lasted two years and was succeeded in 1833 by a monthly called the *Missionary Record*. Files of these are preserved in the library of the General Theological Seminary, but neither attained a very large circulation. Vide, the *Spirit of Missions*, article "The Making of a Missionary Magazine," by the Rev. G. Warfield Hobbs, D. D., issue of January, 1936, p. 6.

The first number of the *Spirit of Missions* appeared under date of January, 1836. The circumstances leading up to its publication can be indicated by quoting in full the prospectus in the first issue, which reads as follows:

"The publication which now presents itself for the patronage of the Church, is issued by authority of the Board of Missions, and is to be edited under its direction. There needs no argument to enforce the duty of thus consecrating the Press, by making it tributary to the cause of 'Christ and the Church.' It is an instructive lesson of God's providence, that when the fulness of the time had come for the redemption of his Church from Papal bondage and corruption, a new art was prepared, by whose strange agency, the truth, which was to make men free, should be borne forth, as 'on the wings of mighty winds,' to all the nations. It was in the promotion of this great cause, that the wonderful influence of the Press was first made manifest; so that 'the art of printing,' as has been well said, 'answered in some measure, in this age of the revival of the Gospel, to the miraculous gift of tongues in the age of its first publication.' It may be doubted whether we have paid sufficient heed to this instructive lesson of the consecration of the Press. If we fail to do so, great must be our responsibility to God.

"The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society has constantly recognized the importance of the Press, and in various forms employed its agency. Of its last periodical, 'the Missionary Record,' which terminated with the year, and to which the 'Spirit of Missions' now succeeds, it is but just to say, that, under the faithful superintendence of its Editor,—the Secretary of the Society under its recent organization, as he now is of the Board,—it has done excellent service to the Church. It would have rendered to the Missionary enterprise a far more powerful aid, had its importance to the cause been duly estimated by Churchmen.

"At the earliest possible day after the reorganization of the Society, the Board of Missions took order upon this subject. At their second meeting, on the day ensuing the adjournment of the General Convention, it was 'resolved, that a Committee of this Board be appointed to take order as to a Missionary paper to be devoted to its interests, with full power to determine on the place from which it shall issue, to appoint the Editor, and determine on a compensation to the same, (if necessary,) and to prescribe the required directions.' The Committee thus instructed and empowered, after due deliberation and inquiry, adopted the following resolutions, as embodying the 'directions,' in their judgment, necessary to be prescribed:—

"Resolved unanimously, That the title of the paper be as follows: '*The Spirit of Missions*, edited for the Board of Mis-

sions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, by; that it be published monthly, commencing with January, 1836, at such period of the month as may be settled by the Committee above named, on conference with the Editor; that it be neatly printed in octavo 16 pages,⁷ with a cover; and afforded to subscribers at one dollar per annum, payable in advance.

"Resolved unanimously, That the Editor be individually responsible for the whole contents and conduct of the paper,—it being understood that the official documents of the Board, and of its Committees and their Officers shall always be entitled to admission, and have precedence of all other matter; that it shall present a monthly report or abstract of the proceedings of the Board and of its Committees; that it shall contain such portions of the correspondence of the Missionaries of the Board as the Editor may deem suitable for insertion; and, after presenting a full view of the Missionary operations of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, with such editorial and communicated articles and selected matter as shall be deemed calculated to promote them, shall furnish, as far as may be, a record of The Missionary transactions of the Church of England.

"They, at the same time, decided on the city of New York, as the place of publication, and appointed an Editor. Providential circumstances having defeated this appointment, and also a second, subsequently made, the Committee, anxious that the expectation of the Church might not be disappointed, nor the Board of Missions deprived of an auxiliary so essential to its operations, resolved, at a subsequent meeting, that until a suitable Editor could be secured, temporary provision should be made for conducting the Missionary paper. It is under these circumstances, that 'the Spirit of Missions' goes abroad among the Churches,—circumstances, it will at once be seen, of great and serious disadvantage, yet such, it is believed, as will very soon be obviated; and in the meantime will be regarded, it is believed as confidently, with Christian candour and with Christian kindness.

"Of the great advantages to be derived from such a publication, it must be superfluous to speak at length. By the present Missionary organization, it is the Church herself that undertakes the conversion of the world. Engaging in so great a work, in the name and strength of her divine and glorious Head, her appeal is made to all, who, in the sacrament of baptism, have bound themselves to be His soldiers until death, to come up to His help against the mighty. For this continual, urgent, glorious summons, the 'Spirit of Missions' will be, in her hand, as the silver trumpet of the sanctuary. By the record of what her Missionaries and other servants have accomplished

⁷By a subsequent resolution of the committee, the editor is authorized to make each number from 16 to 32 pages, in his discretion.

or begun; by the exhibition of the 'great things,' which the Lord shall put it into her heart to undertake for the glory of his name; by the continual presentation of the wants of perishing souls—souls, for which Jesus Christ poured out his precious blood, perishing for lack of knowledge—the Church will seek to impress her children with a proper sense of their indelible baptismal obligations, and to rouse them to a better estimate of their inestimable baptismal privileges. She will thus appeal especially to every Pastor, as her agent in this glorious work, 'for Jesus' sake;' and urge him, by a 'sound' that none shall deem 'uncertain,'—as he goes in and out among the people whom the Lord has left with him to feed, or as he gathers them with each revolving month to hear the simple story of the Missionary's toils, the Missionary's tears, the Missionary's loss of all for Christ,—to instruct their understandings in the nature, to fix upon their consciences the responsibility, and to engage their hearts in the sublime, self-sacrificing charity of the Missionary enterprise. May God, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy, accept and aid this effort for the glory of His name! May it please Him to give it access to the hearts of men, and crown it with complete success! Imbued from on high with the spirit of truth, the spirit of love, the spirit of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, may it approve itself, in deed and in truth, the *Spirit of Missions!*"

The first issue of the *Spirit of Missions* contained a number of letters from missionaries, at home and abroad, the proceedings of the domestic committee and the foreign committee, the constitution of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, several pages of editorial notes, a list of all missionaries, domestic and foreign, and of stations where there were vacancies.⁸ Among the foreign stations were Greece, China, Africa, Persia, and Texas—the last named being at that time an independent republic.

The *Spirit of Missions* was at first an octavo publication of 32 pages and cover, edited under the direction of the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, secretary for domestic missions, and the Rev. James Milnor, secretary and general agent of the committee for foreign missions. This was the practice for many years, the names of the editors not being given but some such phrase appearing on the title page as: "Edited for the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, by the Secretaries and General Agents of the two Committees."⁹

The first illustration in the *Spirit of Missions* was a drawing of the city of Athens with the mission residence and school inserted in

⁸The *Spirit of Missions*, January, 1836.

⁹This phrase taken from the title page of the *Spirit of Missions*, July, 1859.

the margin in the first issue of volume 4.¹⁰ For many years, however, few pictures were published and these not very good ones. The first use of a picture on the cover seems to have been in March, 1904, on a special children's number.¹¹

The method of financing the *Spirit of Missions* and its circulation after two years of publication is indicated by the following statement in the last issue of volume 2:¹²

"The importance of this paper in the Missionary operations of the Church, is admitted on all hands. It ought not to be a tax on the Missionary funds, as its intrinsic value should insure it such patronage as, at least, to defray all the expenses of its publication. This has not been the case heretofore. The first volume, for 1836, was published at an expense, above its income, of about \$750. The second volume, for 1837, in like manner, will cost beyond its income about \$300. The present number of subscribers is less than 2,000. In addition to these, about 800 copies are sent gratuitously to the parochial clergy, with the request that 'they will promote its circulation in their parishes, as the Missionary periodical of the Church.' It has been the hope of the Committee, that the parochial clergy would generally recommend it to their people, and that a very great increase of subscribers would take place, at least with the beginning of the next volume.

"As an inducement to parishes and individuals to interest themselves still more in the work, a considerable change has been made in the terms. It will hereafter be payable on the delivery of the sixth or June number, and a large discount will be made where a number of copies is taken. See advertisement on the cover of the present number. Agents or parishes desirous of availing themselves of these terms, are requested to give early notice of the number of copies they will receive.

"The third volume commences with the next number.

"The publication of the present number has been delayed a little, by the preparation of an index to this volume."

An interesting report on the cost of publication of the *Spirit of Missions* is contained in an account of the proceedings of the domestic committee in November, 1838.¹³ This says:

"The joint committee on the *Spirit of Missions*, according to instruction, made a report of the receipts and expenditures

¹⁰The *Spirit of Missions*, January, 1839. For a good history of the Greek Mission of the Episcopal Church, see E. R. Hardy, Jr., "Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church," Vol. X (1941), pp. 183-201.

¹¹Vide, article in the *Spirit of Missions*, January, 1936, p. 6.

¹²The *Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 2, 1837, pp. 373-374.

¹³*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, No. 12, December, 1838, p. 49.

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¹²The *Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 2, 1837, pp. 373-374.

¹³*Spirit of Missions*, Vol. 3, No. 12, December, 1838, p. 49.

on account of that paper and on the amount due from subscriptions; from which the following facts appear:

The cost of the second and third volumes is about ..	\$4,500.46
Of which, due the two Committees, advanced by them	\$1,584.15
And the publishers and others	115.37
	<hr/>
	1,699.42
There having been received from subscribers only	2,801.04
The amount due from subscribers (in arrears) is not far from	2,000.00"

By 1839 the circulation of the *Spirit of Missions* was about 8,000.¹⁴ The committee reporting to the annual meeting of the Board of Missions urged a general effort to extend the circulation as an "important vehicle for the commission on missionary information without which it cannot be expected that a universal interest can be excited and maintained in the glorious cause" of missions. The committee further points out that while the *Spirit of Missions* has been a considerable expense to the treasury nevertheless "they have good reason to believe that its perusal has brought into the treasury many a contribution that would not otherwise have been made and that its general influence has been not a little favorable to the origination or maintenance of an interest in both branches of missionary labor"—i. e., domestic and foreign missions.

So enthusiastic for the missionary cause was the *Spirit of Missions* that it sometimes neglected to consider the humanitarian aspect of its missionary projects. A keen English observer, Bishop Wilberforce, of Oxford, in a vigorous denunciation of the comparative silence of the Episcopal Church on the subject of slavery, wrote:¹⁵

"The *Spirit of Missions*, edited with the sanction of the Church, and under the eye of the Bishop (Onderdonk) of New York, proposes to endow a mission school in Louisiana, with a plantation to be worked by slaves, who should be encouraged to redeem themselves by extra hours of labour, before day in the morning and after night in the evening; and should, when thus redeemed, be transported to Liberia, and the price paid for them laid out in purchasing in Virginia or Carolina a gang of people who may be nearly double the number of those sent away."

¹⁴*Proceedings of the Board of Missions, Fourth annual meeting, Appendix B, p. 70. N. Y., William Osborne, 1839.*

¹⁵*Wilberforce, Samuel L, lord bishop of Oxford, History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. N. Y., Stanford & Swords, 1840, p. 304.*

Generally speaking, however, the *Spirit of Missions* has been progressive rather than obscurantist in its outlook.

The history of the *Spirit of Missions*, after 1840, may be briefly summarized, since it falls outside the time limit of this study. Maps began to be added in January, 1844, when the diocese of New York is shown. Pictures also become more frequent after this date, and indeed in the December, 1871, issue a half-tone was used, being described as "the first specimen of the new art of photo-engraving in any magazine in this country."¹⁶

Following the Civil War the title was enlarged from 1866 to 1869 to the *Spirit of Missions and of the Freedmen's Commission*. A third section was added, dealing with the work of the freedmen's commission, of which the Rev. J. Brinton Smith¹⁷ was general agent.

Editors of the *Spirit of Missions* have generally been secretaries of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Board. Among them have been the Rev. Drs. A. T. Twing, Richard B. Duane, Joshua Kimber, and W. S. Langford.¹⁸ In January, 1912, John W. Wood was named as editor and Dr. Hugh L. Burleson as associate. Dr. Burleson succeeded Dr. Wood as missionary editor in January, 1915, and continued until his consecration as missionary bishop of South Dakota the following year. Dr. Arthur S. Lloyd was then editor for a short time, followed by the Rev. Charles H. Betticher, Jr., from 1916 to April, 1922. From June, 1922, to November, 1923, the Rev. Robert F. Gibson was editor in charge. The Rev. Dr. G. Warfield Hobbs was editor from December, 1923, to December, 1938, and William E. Leidt for two issues, January and February, 1939. Since that time the periodical has been under the direction of the vice-president of the National

¹⁶The *Spirit of Missions*, December, 1871. The process is described in this issue as follows:

"The pictures are literally photographs in printers' ink. By a recently invented process, chemically prepared plates are exposed to the action of light under a photographic negative. The effect of the light upon the sensitized plate is to transform it into a veritable lithographic plate—the parts exposed to the action of light having an affinity for fatty or printers' ink, and the portion protected from light rejecting the ink and absorbing water. So, first, a wet roller is passed over a plate ready for the press, followed by an ink roller, and the paper then placed on the press, and run through the rollers at the rate of about sixty or seventy an hour.

"It is the most valuable invention connected with the art of photography in the last decade. The patent is owned in this country by our friend, George C. Rockwood, and his associates, 845 Broadway, New York.

¹⁷For the only known biography of the Rev. Jacob Brinton Smith (March 1, 1822-October 1, 1872), see Cecil D. Halliburton, "History of St. Augustine's College, 1867-1937," Raleigh, North Carolina, 1937, pages 1-8. Smith was one of the founders and the first principal of this Episcopal college for Negroes.

¹⁸For information concerning Twing, Duane, Kimber and Langford, see Julia C. Emery, "A Century of Endeavor," New York, 1921, with listings under each name in the index.

Council for promotion, the Rev. Dr. Charles W. Sheerin,¹⁹ who had formerly been editor of the *Southern Churchman*. The editor, since February, 1939, has been Joseph E. Boyle, who was formerly the editor of the *Diocese of Chicago*. In 1939 the page size was enlarged, and the magazine became more pictorial; in 1940 its name was changed to *Forth*, but *Spirit of Missions* was retained as a sub-title.

Forth today is an octavo monthly magazine, officially published by the department of promotion of the National Council. It is sent free to all the clergy of the Church, and its subscription price for others is \$1.00 a year.

¹⁹Dr. Sheerin resigned as vice-president of the National Council, effective February 1, 1942, to become rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH PRESS IN 1840

BY the year 1840 religious journalism was firmly established in the American Episcopal Church. The *Church Almanac* for 1841,¹ published toward the end of the year 1840, listed twelve periodical publications of general circulation within the Church of the United States, eight of them being weeklies and four monthlies. These, with their editors, place of publication, yearly subscription rate, and publishers were as follows:

Names	Periods of Pub'n	Editors	Place of Publication	Price	Publisher
<i>Christian Witness</i>	W.	Rev. T. Edson	Boston, Mass.	\$2.50	James B. Dow
<i>Churchman</i>	W.	Rev. S. Seabury, D. D.	New York, N. Y.	3.00	James A. Sparks
<i>Journal of Christian Education</i>	M.	Rev. B. O. Peers	New York, N. Y.	1.00	P. E. S. School Union
<i>Children's Magazine</i>	M.	Rt. Rev. Dr. Whittingham	New York, N. Y.	.25	P. E. S. School Union
<i>Spirit of Missions</i>	Mo.	Rev. J. D. Carder and Rev. J. A. Vaughan, D. D.	New York, N. Y.	1.00	Missionary Rooms
<i>Gospel Messenger</i>	W.	Rev. J. C. Rudd, D. D.	Utica, N. Y.	2.00	J. C. Rudd
<i>Episcopal Recorder</i>	W.	Rev. S. E. Tyng, D. D.	Philadelphia, Pa.	2.50	W. Stavely
<i>Banner of the Cross</i>	W.	Dr. S. Littell	Philadelphia, Pa.	3.00	R. S. H. George
<i>Southern Churchman</i>	W.		Richmond, Va.	3.00	Joseph Gill
<i>Gospel Messenger and Southern Episcopal Register</i>	M.	Members of the P. E. Church	Charleston, S. C.	3.00	A. E. Miller
<i>Gambier Observer</i>	W.	Rev. C. Colton, D. D.	Gambier, Ohio	2.00	G. W. Myers
<i>Chronicle of the Church</i>	W.	Rev. A. B. Chapin	New Haven, Conn.	2.00	Stanley and Chapin

It will be seen from the foregoing list that these periodicals covered a wide range, both geographically and in point of interest. Of the weeklies two were published in Philadelphia and one each in Boston, New York, Utica, Richmond, Gambier, Ohio, and New Haven, Connecticut. All of them essayed to report the news of the Church as well as to publish feature articles and editorial comment.

Of the monthly periodicals, three were published in New York and one in Charleston, South Carolina. The *Journal of Christian Education*, published by the Sunday School Union, was devoted to the subject of religious education, while the *Children's Magazine*, published by the same organization, was devoted to the interests of the younger

¹*Church Almanac, 1841, addenda, p. 2.*

Churchmen. The *Spirit of Missions* was, as we have seen, the monthly missionary magazine of the whole Church.

It is noteworthy that three of the periodicals, listed in 1840, are still being published in 1942—the *Churchman*, the *Southern Churchman*, and the *Spirit of Missions* (now *Forth*).

Of the other periodicals being published in 1840, only two survived for thirty years. The *Christian Witness*, which had begun in 1835, in 1841 changed its name to the *Christian Witness and Church Advocate*.² It continued publication until 1870. The *Gospel Messenger* of Utica, New York, though suspended in 1863 for a time, continued to 1871.

The *Journal of Christian Education* was a new publication in 1840, having been inaugurated only the year before. It did not continue very long, ending its career in 1842 as the *Journal of Christian Education and Family and Sunday Visitor*. In addition to the Rev. B. O. Peers, listed as editor in 1840, the Rev. B. I. Haight was associated in an editorial capacity a year later.

The most important weekly publications were the *Churchman*, the *Banner of the Cross*, and the *Chronicle of the Church*. The *Banner of the Cross* was a new publication, having been established in 1839. It continued until 1861 with the exception of a short interval of 1853 and 1854, when it was temporarily discontinued. The *Chronicle of the Church*, begun in 1837, was continued until 1845, when it was merged with the *Calendar*.

THE BANNER OF THE CROSS (1839-1861)

Perhaps the most influential of the Episcopal Church periodicals in the two decades preceding the Civil War was the *Banner of the Cross*, published weekly in Philadelphia under the able editorship of John Coleman.³ But as it was not founded until 1839, only the first two years of its life fall within the period covered by this study.

²Of this change the *Churchman* wrote: "Christian Witness and Church Advocate. Our old friend, the *Christian Witness*, published at Boston, came to us this week with the above addition to its former name, and also announcing that its future editors were to be the Rev. Dr. Stone, the Rev. Thomas M. Clark, and the Rev. John Woart. We rejoice to know that these brethren have consented to devote a portion of their time to the promotion of the cause of Christ through the important medium of the periodical press. We would hail them as fellow labourers with us, and having the same identical object in view with ourselves. May great success attend their efforts, and the cause, which we mutually love, prosper and prevail."

³The set of this periodical in the library of the General Theological Seminary is the gift of the Rev. John Coleman, son of the editor, and was formerly in the library of Bishop Leighton Coleman, of Delaware.

The *Banner of the Cross* was the successor to the *Protestant Episcopalian*—that remarkable monthly periodical that terminated its existence with a small surplus.⁴ In the prospectus published in the first issue,⁵ the new publication was thus introduced:

"Many of the subscribers to the *Protestant Episcopalian*, having long desired a change in the form of that periodical, the close of the year which has just elapsed, was selected as a suitable opportunity for complying with their wishes. But while the subject was yet under consideration, proposals for a new paper were issued from the Missionary Press at Burlington, New Jersey, and it has been deemed advisable, when there was such a general agreement in opinion, to unite the two under the title of

THE BANNER OF THE CROSS;

thus securing to the present publication the advantage which they respectively possessed; and giving to it a broader foundation, and a more extensive circulation than they would separately have had. The *Episcopalian* relinquished the appellation which it has so long borne, but it receives in turn a large accession to its strength; it passes also into other hands, and instead of being conducted as hitherto by an association of clergymen, will hereafter be under the direction of a single individual. But though so many changes have been made some may perhaps fail to recognize an old acquaintance, it is hoped that it will continue to preserve the moderate, peaceful, and Christian character which it has always sustained.

"The present Editor is painfully conscious of possessing at least an ordinary share of the infirmities of human nature; he wants experience, and he may want ability adequately to discharge the duties of an office which he accepted with unaffected diffidence, but he does not want the earnest desire to make the *Banner of the Cross* while under his management, an exception to a charge so discreditable. A layman himself,⁶ it will be his aim to provide for those of his own Order, a Paper—plain, practical, and devotional—such as they have long required; while the assistance which has been promised, will render it no less valuable to the clergy."

The *Banner of the Cross* began with a wealth of official sponsorship. As noted in the quotation above, a weekly paper projected for the diocese of New Jersey, to replace the suspended *Missionary*, was

⁴See above, p. 261.

⁵*Banner of the Cross*, January 5, 1839.

⁶This reference is difficult to understand, as the John Coleman who is listed as editor appears to have been the one ordained in 1834, according to Burgess' list of deacons.

abandoned in favor of the Philadelphia paper. Thus the new publication contained official commendation by Bishop George Washington Doane of New Jersey as well as by Bishop H. U. Onderdonk of Pennsylvania.⁷ In addition, Bishop L. S. Ives of North Carolina also commended the new publication to his own diocese.

The *Banner* was a folio publication, its earlier issues consisting of eight pages. The subscription price was \$2.50 a year, "payable in advance or before the first of June;" thereafter \$3.00. Advertisements were accepted, if "not inconsistent with the character of the paper as a periodical of the Church," at "one dollar a square for the first, and fifty cents for each subsequent insertion." The publisher was George W. Donahue, 22 South Fourth St., Philadelphia, and the paper was printed by King and Baird at 9 George Street.⁸ A "juvenile department"—rather precocious by modern standards—was a feature from the outset.

During the first two years of its publication the *Banner of the Cross* gained a substantial following in all parts of the Church. Orthodox in its theology, it was comprehensive in its interests and moderate and non-controversial in its editorial policy. Every topic of current religious interest was reflected in its columns, in the light of its professed devotion to "Gospel truth, and primitive ecclesiastical order." Indeed, after two years of publication the editor wrote that the only complaint that had reached his ear was that the paper was rather too "solid"—but this, he observed, was "an error . . . much more venial than its opposite would have been."

The *Banner of the Cross* continued until 1861, except for a short period of suspension in 1853, during which time subscribers received another periodical.

⁷The Rev. Benjamin D. Winslow, of Burlington, N. J., who had announced the New Jersey venture, also had a letter of endorsement in the first issue of the *Banner of the Cross*.

⁸With the issue of June 27, 1840, the publisher became R. S. H. George, who maintained a bookstore at 26 South Fifth Street. Mr. Donahue's name was carried as "agent" for a few more issues, and then was dropped.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

THE question naturally arises, Why did three of these periodicals—the *Churchman*, the *Southern Churchman*, and the *Spirit of Missions*—continue for a century after their establishment when all previous publications of the Episcopal Church, more than 40 in number, had had a relatively short life?

The causes for the suspension, merging, or death of the various earlier periodicals may be grouped into six principal categories as follows:

1. *Lack of finances.* Probably this reason was a contributing factor in the suspension or death of virtually all of the periodicals, a notable exception, however, being the *Protestant Episcopalian*, which ended its life with a surplus of \$100.00. The first notable example of suspension because of financial difficulties is the *Churchman's Magazine* which reported itself in the hands of its printers as early as 1805. The *Gospel Advocate*, which came to an end in 1834, is another notable example of demise for this reason.

2. *Too many editors.* Almost invariably when a periodical was managed by a board of editors rather than by a single editor it ran into trouble sooner or later.¹ Dr. William Smith in his letter to Dr. Hobart gave this as one of the principal reasons for the weakness of the *Churchman's Magazine* in 1805. It was also largely responsible for the later difficulties of this periodical after its return to Connecticut in 1821. Another notable suspension for this reason was that of the *Church Register* in 1829.

3. *War conditions.* During the War of 1812 and again during the Civil War, the mortality among Church periodicals was particularly high. In some instances war conditions were definitely cited as the reason for suspension or death and in other cases this may be assumed. Thus in 1815 the *Churchman's Magazine* was suspended, as a year earlier the *Quarterly Theological Magazine* had come to an end, giving

¹It will be interesting to see whether this "jinx" can be overcome today by the *Witness*, which announced in the fall of 1941 that it would henceforth be run by "the new technique of group editing."

as its reason the difficulty of obtaining foreign periodicals containing the news of Europe. Similarly in 1863 the *Gospel Messenger* of Utica was discontinued because of war conditions and other periodicals were also discontinued or suspended, including even the *Churchman* and the *Southern Churchman*.

4. *Death or disability of editor.* Religious journalism in the 19th century was largely a matter of personalities and the death or the disability of the editor was frequently a cause of suspension or discontinuance. This was true, for example, in the case of the *Christian Register* after the deposition of Dr. How in 1827, the *Christian Journal* after the death of Bishop Hobart in 1830, and the *Churchman's Magazine* after the death of Dr. Bronson in 1826. A similar reason was probably largely responsible for the discontinuance of the *Episcopal Recorder* in 1865 following the loss of its editor, Dr. George A. Smith.

5. *Too much controversy.* Some of the periodicals got so involved in controversy that they lost the confidence of their readers. This was apparently a major cause in the discontinuance of the *Watchman* in 1819, and was doubtless a contributing factor in other cases where it cannot easily be traced.

6. *Lack of reader support.* Some of the periodicals seem to have failed because they did not manage to arouse the interest of any particular class of readers. Thus, for example, the *Sunday Visitant* was intended to be a publication for young people but it was too old for this clientele and too juvenile for adults. Doubtless this was a considerable factor in leading to its discontinuance in 1819. Other periodicals that gave lack of reader support as a reason for discontinuing or merging with other periodicals were the *Episcopal Magazine* in 1821, the *Banner of the Church* in 1832, and the *Episcopal Watchman* in 1833.

The three periodicals that have survived from the period under consideration until the present day are the *Churchman*, the *Southern Churchman*, and the *Spirit of Missions*. It may be asked, Why have these been successful in maintaining their existence and influence when their contemporaries failed?

The answer is not the same in all three cases, for the *Spirit of Missions* differed from the other two in that it was an official publication, sponsored and financed by the Church as a whole through its missionary funds. Thus it was unnecessary for the *Spirit of Missions* to be self-supporting, depending for its revenue either upon its subscribers or its advertisers. Despite the official character of the *Spirit of Missions* it has always been an interesting publication, containing original communications from missionaries in all parts of the world where the Episcopal Church is at work. To the historian, the earlier years of the *Spirit*

of *Missions* (especially the first fifty) are more valuable than the later ones, for before the Civil War the reports from missionaries were published substantially as received with very little editing or abridgment. Since that time they have been more numerous and a selection has had to be made, so that the picture of the missionary work of the Church is not as complete as in the earlier issues.

In the case of the *Churchman*, the able editorship of Dr. Samuel Seabury, who, as we have seen, guided its destiny from 1833 to 1849, was a substantial factor in giving this publication permanence. Moreover, its ardent espousal of the cause of the Oxford Movement, after 1833, placed the *Churchman* in the main stream of that great spiritual revival which swept the whole Church during the middle of the 19th century. Today, ably edited by Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, it is the organ of a different tradition, which has come to be known as liberal evangelicalism.

The *Southern Churchman*, though small in circulation, holds an especially venerable position in the conservative section in which its influence is strongest.

The various other periodicals, both those that preceded the three mentioned and others that started up from time to time and continued for five, ten, or even twenty years, fell eventually on the rock of lack of support, and consequently lack of financial means, coupled with the other factors mentioned.

Yet the papers that failed were not without their significance in the history of the Church and of religious journalism. Each of them was started to meet a need—the need of information and editorial guidance. Each of them contributed in its own way to the meeting of this need. As such they made their contribution to the Church life of the day and to the historical records of the Church.

The periodicals that did not succeed also laid a foundation for those that later did succeed in that the latter could and did profit by the errors of the former. One cannot, therefore, dismiss these earlier unsuccessful periodicals as of no importance. It is on the failures of the past that the successes of the present and of the future are built. This is no less true of religious journalism than of any other aspect of life.

Religious journalism is a specialized profession. One thing that the failure of many of the early periodicals has shown is that a successful Church paper cannot be produced in the spare time of a busy clergyman or layman whose main interests lie elsewhere. The periodicals that were successful succeeded not because of any subsidy (though that was a factor in the *Spirit of Missions*), nor because the editors

of those periodicals were essentially abler men than the editors of the periodicals that failed, but because for the most part the editors of the successful papers gave the majority of their time to the development and improvement of the periodicals for which they were responsible.

The Episcopal Church has never seen fit to endow its periodical publications with the exception of the one official missionary magazine, *Forth*, formerly the *Spirit of Missions*, and, to some extent, the *Historical Magazine*. Episcopal Church periodicals have therefore had to stand or fall on their own merits as best they could. If this has resulted in a very high mortality rate among Episcopal Church papers it has had a compensating value in that those that have survived have done so largely because of their inherent merit and reader appeal. This, it seems to the writer, is a sounder basis for religious journalism and a better guarantee of an independent Church press than an official subsidy could possibly be—though the Church might at least give official recognition and assistance to its press through proper institutional advertising.

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BOOK REVIEWS

An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina: A Study in Americanization. By Frank J. Klingberg, Ph. D., professor of History, University of California at Los Angeles. The Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C., 1941. (9 in., pp. xii., 180.)

The factor of the Negro in colonial America has been largely overlooked by historians. Yet he is entitled to considerable recognition. He arrived early, and in such numbers as to equal and, in some cases, to exceed the white population. His part in the building of America needs to be brought to light. Colonial South Carolina offers an excellent field for the study of the relationship of Negro and white man; and Doctor Klingberg has given us just the sort of analysis and investigation that we desire.

During the eighteenth century in that province a friendly relationship was worked out through the efforts of Christian leaders, and the Negro in time became Christian. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts based its program on the fundamental assumption that "the Negro's future would be identified with the white man's future." From 1702, when the Society's missionaries first entered South Carolina, they recorded their progress in their semi-annual reports. They attended to the educational as well as to the Christianization program; they made it possible for the Negro to be schooled in the Christian religion, and subsequently to have their own churches, clergy, schools, and institutions. In order to teach the essentials of Christian doctrine, the missionaries used sermons, oral instruction, and conversations, and they taught reading and writing. Their zealous efforts were opposed by most of the planters, who held that it was useless and unnecessary to teach the Negroes; they feared lest the Negroes would become lazy and proud, and would regard themselves as the white men's equals. Doctor Klingberg brings out these facts clearly in his remarkable book.

The first S. P. G. missionary to South Carolina, the Reverend Samuel Thomas, started the religious instruction of the Negro. He arrived in 1702 and settled in the Cooper River and Goose Creek region. He was the Negro's champion in rectifying abuses; and he taught twenty of the race to read. When he died in 1706, he had already laid a foundation for his successors. He was followed by Doctor Francis LeJau, one of the really great missionaries of Anglican colonial history. LeJau worked assiduously for the uplift of the Negro; and his industry was combined with discretion, tact, and calm judgment. He postponed baptism until he felt that the Negro was sufficiently prepared for the same. It was at his suggestion that a schoolmaster, Mr. Benjamin Dennis, was sent to the Goose Creek region; Mr. Dennis taught Negroes and Indians as well as white children.

The program of Negro education grew in other parishes. (Those clustered along the Atlantic coastline approximately a hundred miles in each direction from Charles Town determined the population as well as the geographic centre of early South Carolina.) The Reverend Robert Maule (St. John's) wrote in 1710 of

the arguments he was having with the planters while seeking to induce them to consent to the baptism of their Negroes. The planters were afraid that baptism would automatically result in emancipation. Mr. Maule was evidently successful on the whole in his efforts. The Reverend Thomas Hasell (St. Thomas'), in his South Carolina ministry of thirty-eight years, persevered in his labours among the Negroes. Here it should be noted that there were some notable examples of co-operation on the part of the masters of slaves; some of them were seriously concerned over the spiritual uplift of their Negro dependents. Again, says Doctor Klingberg, "far too little . . . has been brought to light concerning the part played by the mistress of the plantation. The adverse criticism at a later time of a Fanny Kemble, a Harriet Martineau, or other reformers did not usually take cognizance of some sound achievements in Negro training and education contributed by the mistress in fulfilling her part of the plantation scheme." The mistress of the plantation encouraged the Negroes to read their Bibles; she taught them cooking, sewing, the care of the sick; she trained the Negroes in general.

The Reverend Richard Ludlam (Goose Creek) took much care in instructing a large number of Negroes; he was much interested in education. The Reverend Brian Hunt (St. John's) sought to have a law passed, compelling every planter with ten slaves to instruct at least one in the Bible and catechism, so that this one might instruct the others. A fine work was done by the Reverend Francis Varnod (St. George's), the Reverend William Guy (St. Andrew's), the Reverend Lewis Jones (St. Helen's), and others. Notwithstanding the indifference and opposition of influential parishioners, these missionaries persisted in their efforts towards Negro enlightenment. In the inland parishes, as they developed, the clergymen were without exception aware of their obligation to the Negro race.

Doctor Klingberg has availed himself of the wonderful resources of the Journals of the S. P. G. and the letters written by the Society's missionaries. These afford most interesting insights into Negro primitive life. According to one writer, the negroes "have a notion of God and of a Devil, and dismal apprehensions of apparitions; of a God that disposes absolutely to all things . . . and a Devil . . . who leads them to do mischief and betrays them, whereby they are found out by their masters and punished."

The Charles Town Negro School, conceived and fostered by the Reverend Doctor Alexander Garden, offered a unique contribution to Negro education. The idea grew and took shape in the mind of that able man, and it was brought into shape after much foresight and systematic planning. The canny Scotsman was the ablest and most aggressive of all the colonial commissaries, and a man of hard, practical sense rather than a visionary. The school was opened in September, 1743, with several pupils; and it proved an immediate success. In about a month, there were some thirty children; in a year the number had doubled. A capable and conscientious teacher was found in the negro boy Harry, a product of the school. The little academy lasted about a dozen years after Doctor Garden's death; and it might have continued under normal circumstances. An epidemic of small-pox and the waging of warfare with the Cherokee Indians gave insecurity to the province; and in 1764, the financial assistance of the S. P. G. was curtailed. Nevertheless, the good work begun during the life of that school left traces which were noted nearly a century afterwards.

The Negro, unlike the Indian and all immigrant groups, had been brought forcibly to his new environment; therefore, he was without normal contact with the culture of his ancestors. This isolation predisposed him for adaptation to

the white man's civilization. Separated from his African tribes, he could not, under slavery and in a white community, work out a completely distinct African culture, nor could he revert to African mores, of which he was rapidly losing knowledge. "He learned readily, eagerly came to Church in large numbers, and so impressed his ability upon the missionaries that, as early as 1713, they were ready for legislative action towards compulsory education."

The writer of this review, though southern-born and descended from unmixed lines of southern ancestry, holds no brief for slavery as an institution; he rejoices that the Negro is a free man, not only because his emancipation has contributed to the Negro's advancement and independence but also because it has served to develop more self-reliant and manly qualities among the white men. Still he feels that slavery was far from being an unmitigated evil; indeed he thinks that it was a factor of tremendous educational importance in the evolution of the American Negro, and that it served a useful purpose. Thereby the Negro was brought into contact with the white man's civilization; he was introduced to the domestic and sanitary standards of well regulated and cultured families; he learned to cook and to sew, he observed the amenities of polite society, he imbibed the principles of law and order, and he received his initiation into Christianity. What the European had acquired through more than a thousand years of painful travail, in the field of law, ethics, and religion, was accessible to the Negro by indoctrination and imitation. Fetishes, charms, tom-toms, and the host of primitive superstitions were exchanged for rational methods of medication and self-protection. Doctor Klingberg realizes the truth of these observations, and gives the white man credit for sincerity and a real humanitarian spirit in those days of tension and adjustment.

Churchmen may take pride in the idealistic and altruistic endeavours of the great Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the conscientious, unselfish missionaries who were sent to the American colonies. Not the least of their contributions was the implanting of Christian principles in the Negro slaves—principles that have borne increasing fruit to the present time. And churchmen may take further satisfaction in the fact that scholars like Doctor Klingberg recognise the rich and noble contribution which the Anglican Church has made to the shaping of American institutions.

EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON.

Morning of America. By Frank J. Klingberg. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1941. Pp. 479. \$3.

Ecclesiastical historians often have reason to fault secular historians for neglecting the influence of religion in the historical processes which they attempt to expound. The former ought not to fall into the like error of ignoring the political, constitutional, military, social and economic forces which form the background of Church history. No Church ever lived in a vacuum and Church history was not made in one.

For students of American Church history this book is the best single volume of which we have knowledge for the period in American history, 1760-1830. It was recently chosen out of 120 entries by a jury of distinguished educators for the Commonwealth Club of California Silver Medal. All phases of American

life, including its English roots, are well considered, and the influence of religion is not overlooked.

Beginning with the "Colonial Attachment to England" and "A Bird's-Eye View of the Empire of George III," we are given many inimitable pen portraits of the great Englishmen of the 18th century; most unusual in a volume of this kind is that of "Diamond" (Thomas) Pitt, the grandfather of William Pitt the Elder and great-grandfather of William Pitt the Younger. Eight pages in this one chapter alone are devoted to John Wesley and the religious revival on both sides of the Atlantic. But we are also enlightened concerning the agricultural renaissance and the industrial revolution in England and their effects upon the colonies.

Three chapters—"The New British Colonial Policy," "Active Resistance and Repression," "From Resistance to Independence,"—trace the events and expound the causes leading to war. Five chapters deal with the War of Independence in all its phases. The author does not fall into the error of some historians and most pacifists, namely, that all wars are unimportant and none ever settled anything. One illustration will have to suffice to show the thoroughness of treatment of this section of the book. The author fully recognizes the decisive edge which the French fleet under De Grasse gave Washington over Cornwallis at Yorktown, but we cannot recall another one-volume history which explains the extraordinary absence of the British fleet at this critical juncture. Admiral Rodney had gone home with captured treasure to be sure of securing his share of the prize money.

We are inclined to think that Bernhard Knollenberg's *Washington and the Revolution: A Reappraisal* (New York, Macmillan, 1940), will modify some details of Professor Klingberg's estimate of Washington, although not his main outline.

Chapters XI and XII deal with "The Significance of the American Revolution" and the "Social Results" thereof. Both are excellent and repay careful study.

In chapter XIII, "Reorganization of the Government," the leading Fathers of the Constitution are vividly sketched. The whole group is thus summarized:

"Altogether the group of 55 men were representative of the best talent of the country; skilled lawyers, planters, and business men united in drawing up a plan for a practical and powerful government. Most of them had been prominent in the Revolution, seven were signers of the Declaration of Independence; three-fourths of them had served in Congress . . . ; all of them had a rich experience in government, were men of note in their own communities, and were familiar with the needs and opinions of the people." (Page 285.)

The results of their work he thus describes:

"The Constitution is brief, simple, and clear. Drawn up to meet the experienced needs of the time, it does not provide for all the emergencies of government. It was an effort to solve the problems that had confronted such men as Washington, Madison, and Robert Morris. Its great merit lies in its success in securing the supremacy of the new Federal Government without destroying the state governments. It cre-

ated what Washington had so long felt indispensable, 'a power which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State governments extend over the several States.'

What life at the turn of the 19th century was actually like is well described in the chapter on "Travel, Marketing and Living Conditions." Chapters XV to XX carry the story of the new nation from Washington through John Quincy Adams. But with the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency:

"Ended was the morning of America. But the new American shape was clearly visible. The earlier caste society had been replaced by robust equalitarianism. The selective immigrations from Europe and the influences of the frontier had produced a separate and distinct culture, unique among the nations of the world in its recognition of the dignity and rights of the common man. The equalitarianism of the Jacksonian era had been envisioned by Bishop Jonathan Shipley in his epochal sermon of 1773, when he said, 'they (the Americans) may be led by reason and experiment to that old simplicity which was first pointed out by nature.'

"A new one-class society had developed in the broad reaches of a vast continent. No longer could it be said that a perfect piece of Old England was floated across the Atlantic. For the two nations, the one by land, the other by sea, were to attain separate destinies, finding in a common background a harmony of outlook and institutions, but differing as fundamentally in their adaptations as 'Old Hickory' differed from Queen Victoria. Walking to the White House in the freedom and simplicity that was to mark much of American life for the rest of the century, Jackson was to set the stage for the second chapter of our history. The long Shadow of the 'great Democrat' marked the sharp sense of change, as if centuries had split the decade."

We think one of the most pregnant paragraphs in the book is in the Introduction, pp. xi-xii:

"The recent fashion of removing American history from the schools and of substituting in place of it a hodgepodge of current social problems has taken away from a younger generation the fundamental sense of time sequence, and therefore of knowledge of a rich heritage and of the slow, solid movement of history from age to age. Thus robbed completely of his past, the modern youth would not have even the tribal traditions of the savage. A time dimension is necessary for any full understanding of one's own age. The radio and the film, valuable in their own ways, can not fill the gap. The film, for the purposes of dramatization, magnifies both characters and incidents and therefore cannot take the place of the truthful, steady portrayal of history. Radio, too, must be episodic and neither medium can undertake the responsibility of teaching history in full continuous correct perspective."

This counsel, with which we are in hearty agreement, is directly applicable to American churchmen and the study of our Church's history. The shabby, shallow treatment which the history of the American Episcopal Church receives in most of our theological seminaries, has produced a generation of clergy with an inferiority complex in so far as their attitude towards the American Church is concerned. If they really understood the "time sequence" and grasped the "full continuous correct perspective", they would understand the handicaps which the Episcopal Church has had to overcome and for many of which it was not responsible. They would perceive more clearly the processes by which the Church has passed not merely from weakness to comparative strength, but from

a condition "approaching annihilation", as Bishop White described it, and would have a proper pride in that accomplishment. When the clergy are ignorant of all this, how can we expect the rank and file of the laity to be otherwise?

Professor Klingberg has proved that American history in its time sequence and with correct perspective can be so written as to be more fascinating than many novels. We believe that eventually the same can be done for American Church history.

WALTER H. STOWE.

The Christian Approach to the Moslem, by the Rev. James Thayer Addison, D. D. New York. Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. 365. \$3.75.

It is no simple matter to summarize in a single volume the story of Christian missionary work among Moslems. The field is enormous. The Moslem world includes many countries with widely differing conditions. The history of it spans a period of twelve centuries. It would take someone of Dr. Addison's scholarship and breadth of vision to draw an adequate picture.

In the Preface the author warns us "rather because of the limitations of space than through neglect of its importance, I have omitted the work of the Roman Catholic Church since 1800". The result is a distinctly Protestant flavor in all except two chapters, one on Ramon Lull, that extraordinary missionary of the thirteenth century, and the other on "The Jesuits at the Mughal Court" in India in the sixteenth century. The historical material is concise, comprehensive and always interesting.

In all the whole realm of missionary enterprise the Moslem world offers the toughest problem. There are certain general reasons to account for this supplemented by special considerations in each country. For many centuries the only contact between Christians and Moslems was one of persistent hostility. Moslem expansion was achieved largely by conquest of Christian countries. In return the Christians launched crusades for the recovery of the Holy Land. It is hard to build a religious friendship on such a basis of inherited hatreds from both sides. Unlike other non-Christian religions Islam has a simple, clear-cut, definite creed which can stand on its own feet. In most Moslem countries Islam not only constitutes the recognized religion of the land but it also shapes the laws and determines the social structure. People are registered according to their religious faith. Usually provision is made for change of registration if a person is converted to Mohammedanism but no Moslem is permitted a similar change to Christian registration. The result is that a convert to Christianity practically loses his citizenship—he can hold no public office, he loses his right of inheritance, his opportunity to make a living is sharply restricted and he suffers an overpowering weight of social ostracism. The severity of these conditions varies in different lands. In the not far distant past it was a capital offense in some countries for a Moslem to embrace Christianity. Up to the present moment Afghanistan rigidly forbids the entrance of any Christian missionary within its borders. In countries where the Arabic influence is dominant (such as Egypt, Syria, Arabia) missionaries are tolerated but quite unwelcome. In northern India the situation is much easier and among the Malays of the East Indies the restraints on missionary work are very light.

The result is that Christian progress has made considerable advance in the East Indies, has something to its credit in north India but has accomplished little with the Moslems elsewhere.

This is not to say that Protestant missionary efforts have produced no results in lands such as Egypt, Turkey, Iraq, Syria and others. Native churches have been organized which in some instances are strong enough to be practically autonomous. But they have been recruited from the resident Christian minorities—not from the Moslems. Dr. Addison tells in some detail how the Protestants have weaned away Armenian Christians from their ancestral Church or Coptic Christians from the Church of their fathers in order to establish rival evangelical bodies. He justifies this policy on the grounds that it is an indirect approach to the Moslems and that it removes a stigma from the Christian cause due to the sorry decadence of the native Christian Churches. "As representing a different type of Christianity more worthy of Moslem respect, these Protestants might be said to aid the approach to Islam; but they felt themselves in no position to evangelize Moslems and seldom if ever attempted it" (p. 124). Thus approval is given to what he concedes to be the "inroads of evangelical Christianity" among the eastern Christians. It is to be regretted that no mitigating circumstances are found for the low estate of these oriental Churches which have steadfastly clung to their faith through centuries of persecution and terrorism visited upon them by their Moslem conquerors. No word of approval is spoken for the contrary policy of the Anglican communion which has preferred to spend its energies in building up the oriental Churches from within rather than in proselytizing their people from without. It would seem that we in the United States ought by this time to have outgrown the old puritan thesis that the only pure Christianity is that of western Protestantism to which all other Christians should be soundly converted.

The concluding chapters of the book contain some illuminating observations on changing methods of appealing to Moslem people. A century ago the missionary effort centered around protracted controversies with Moslem teachers. Today it is generally conceded that such a method is fruitless. Schools and hospitals are still excellent points of contact but the real work of evangelization is grounded more and more on the gentle pressure of Christian lives lived by Christian disciples without argument or apology.

Wisely Dr. Addison makes it clear that his work carries only up to the outbreak of the present war in 1939. The disruptive effects of the war on Moslem countries will create radically different situations everywhere when peace finally comes. There will be lost ground to be made up but there will also be many new doors opened.

FRANK E. WILSON,
Bishop of Eau Claire.

The History of Quakerism by Elbert Russell. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. 586.

The dean emeritus of the Divinity School and professor of Biblical Interpretation, Duke University, has given us a compact and most interesting history of the Society of Friends. It falls into three divisions: 1. The Rise of the Society, 1647-1691; 2. The Age of Quietism, 1691-1827; and, 3. The

Modern Revival and Reconstruction, 1827-1941. Under these heads he has woven the story of the rise of Quakerism in England; and its spread to the United States, together with its internal divisions. He brings out very clearly the links of the Quakers with important periods in American History such as the abolition of slavery and lays proper emphasis on their contribution to education by the establishment of schools and colleges in the United States. The vivid pen pictures of such men as George Fox, William Penn, Joseph John Gurney, and that stormy petrel, George Keith, add much to the interest of the narrative. A valuable feature is the linking of the Quaker movement and its development with modern religious life and thought and the fact that it has been profoundly influenced by the evangelical movement in the Church of England, as well as by the early Methodist revival. Numerically, the Quakers are small, but no one can read this book without realizing what a large contribution they have made to the cause of religion.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Walter Rauschenbusch, by the Rev. Dr. Dores R. Sharpe. Macmillan. \$2.75.

This timely volume gives a compelling portrayal of one of the most challenging figures in American religious life. The former secretary of Walter Rauschenbusch has rendered a distinctive service in effectively presenting to the troubled spirit of to-day, the life and work of one of the company of major prophets.

Rauschenbusch began his ministry in New York City with a splendid intellectual equipment dedicated to the service of human souls. In the needy area in which he laboured he soon saw, however, that he could not stop with individuals. Daily he had to face the effects of forces which were beyond the control of the individual.

"Beneath the glitter" of city life he came to know the sorrow and the pain of the common man. He knew the tragedy of the "little bullet-headed tailor" compelled to work on a Saturday night while his little girl "Minnie" lay dying just three blocks away. He knew because he had been there. So completely did he enter into the lives of his people that no detail of their struggle escaped his attention. He could tell the number of times a baby carriage must be lifted over curbs by a mother seeking the nearest patch of green grass for her child. He knew because he had counted them.

The experience of these early years forced this sensitive man to restudy his Bible and to rethink his theology. He discovered afresh the fundamental concern of the prophets for God's justice in the affairs of men. Henceforth with the conviction and the singlemindedness of the prophets, he strove against social injustice and complacency. Little wonder it is that when this obscure clergyman spoke of what he had seen and experienced the consciences of men and women were pricked.

After ten years in "Hell's Kitchen" his reputation was established as an independent thinker, a friend of the poor and a champion of social justice.

Rauschenbusch never lost sight of the fact that "an adequate social reform must spring from and be rooted in religion". But he also contended that no religion was complete until it was dedicated to the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth.

One of the most suggestive chapters of this biography deals with the efforts of Rauschenbusch and several kindred spirits to come to a better understanding of the idea of the Kingdom. Their effort resulted in the establishment of the "Brotherhood of the Kingdom" which endeavored to "wed Christianity and the Social Movement". For two decades it opposed both "unsocial Christians and unchristian socialists".

Rauschenbusch felt that the individualistic conception of personal salvation had pushed out of sight the collective conception of the Kingdom of God on earth, hence Christians had been content with a low plane of life here in the hope of a better life in the future. He readily agreed with the students of religion that when Judah was carried into exile, the shift in religious emphasis from a national basis to an individual one, was a notable achievement. However, he did not feel, as many did, that the shift was all gain. Much that was of value in the social emphasis of the past was lost in the pressure of circumstance. It is true that the national hope of Judah was never fully surrendered but that its continuance in apocalyptic schemes was destined to influence subsequent Christian thought more than the teaching of the prophets. Rauschenbusch felt that the continuance of our civilization depended upon a restoration of the prophetic emphasis and a revival of social religion.

After thirteen years in New York, Rauschenbusch moved to Rochester Theological Seminary where through his teaching and writing he exercised the most formative influence of any man on American religious thought. Here it was that he published the harvest of his thought and faith in the volumes, "Christianity and the Social Crisis", "Christianizing the Social Order" and "A Theology for the Social Gospel". Following his lead the churches have made their social pronouncements.

He was prophetic not only in that he spoke for God against the evils of his day, but also in the more popular sense that he foretold the dangers ahead and what must be done to avert them. His biographer will be amply repaid for his effort if the readers of this volume are led to study the insights of this rare soul.

WILLIAM McDONALD SHARP.

The Episcopal Church in Haddam by Nelson R. Burr, Ph. D. Hartford: The Church Missions Publishing Co. 1942. Pp. 32.

About 1662 Haddam was founded by a group of English settlers and named after the parishes of Much Haddam and Little Haddam, in the old country from whence they came. The first church was puritan, and the first Episcopal service was conducted by the Rev. Ebenezer Punderson in 1750. In 1774 a census showed nearly 10,000 Episcopalians in the colony of Connecticut. On April 17, 1843, a parish was organized under the name of "The Church of the Holy Trinity in Haddam". The story of its subsequent development is admirably told by Dr. Burr, who is now on the staff of the Library of Congress. He gives special attention to the work of the Rev. William Clark Knowles who served for nearly seventy years as lay reader and rector. A chapel was opened on May 25, 1873, and consecrated by Bishop Williams on November 10, 1877. This pamphlet is an illustration of what can be done in preserving for posterity the history of our smaller parishes. The multiplication of such material is invaluable as a contribution to the larger history of the Church.

The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland. 1942. Pp. 34.

This publication is issued in connection with the celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the establishment of the Thirty Original Parishes in the Province of Maryland in 1692. After describing the Act of 1692 which divided Maryland into thirty parishes, and the election and consecration of Bishop Thomas John Claggett in 1792, it gives a brief description of the original parishes with excellent photographs. It is a permanent contribution to a most interesting period in Church history.

CORRECTION.

San Francisco, California, July 6, 1942.

The Editor of The Historical Magazine,
Garrison, New York.

My dear Mr. Editor:

I desire to call attention to an inaccurate statement in my article about Bishop Kip. Dr. Kip was rector not of St. Peter's but of St. Paul's, Albany, before he was made bishop. The mistake in the Historical Magazine was due to an original mistake in the Reverend D. O. Kelley's History of the Diocese of California. I took it uncritically from that source and although Bishop Kip more than once speaks of St. Paul's, I failed to note the inaccuracy. I regret that a mistake of this kind should appear in the Magazine and apologize to the editors and the Magazine's constituency.

Yours faithfully,

EDWARD L. PARSONS.